National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. WITHOUT CONCEALMENT....WITHOUT COMPROMISE. EDMUND QUINCY, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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Selections.

"UNCLE TOM'S CABIN"—PUBLIC MEETING IN THE CITY HALL.

On Tuesday night, a large and interesting public meeting of the members and friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society was held in the City Hall, to promote the PENNY OFFERING to the Authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and to unite in the National Remonstrance with the United States of America against Slavery. The Hall was crowded in every part. On the platform was observed William Wells Brown, the well-known fugitive slave, Rev. George Jeffrey, Rev. Wm. Scott, Rev. Mr. Johnstone; Councillors Fleming, M'Ara, J. W. M'Gregor, and the Deacon Convener; also Andrew Paton, Esq.; James Clark, Esq.; William White, Esq.; Wm. McIvin, Esq.; Jas. Couper, Esq.; William Willis, Esq.; James Attwood, Esq.; Robert Goodwin, Esq.; Jas. Gray, Esq.; R. Kirkwood, Esq.; J. B. Ross, Esq.; John Barr, Esq.; A. Inglis, Esq.; Jas. Cairns, Esq.; Dr. Black, and Wm. Smeal.

The proceedings were commenced by Deacon Convener Yuille, moving the appointment of Mr. Smeal to the chair. He said it was a matter of very great regret to the gentlemen on the platform, and he was sure it would also be to the meeting, that Bailie Gilmour, from sudden and severe indisposition, was prevented being present. In his absence, he begged leave to propose that an old and veteran friend in the cause of Anti-Slavery should take the chair (cheers.)

Mr. Smeal, on taking the chair, said—My friends and fellow citizens, I can assure you that it is with very deep regret that I find myself unexpectedly called upon to occupy the chair this evening, on account of the sudden and severe indisposition of my dear friend Baillie Gilmour, who, but for this cause, which we must all lament, would, I know, have been glad to be with us, would have occupied this chair not only with more acceptance, but in a manner far more efficiently than I am capable of. The sight of so vast an assembly as the present is well calculated to appal any one unaccustomed to preside at public meetings. I feel encouraged, however, by the consideration of the object which has brought us together, and that we are animated by one spirit to record our determination to continue to labour for the abolition of Slavery, and especially of American Slavery (cheers). To testify our gratitude and approbation under Providence to Harriet Beecher Stowe, the authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (cheers)—and our satisfaction at the effects, the beneficial effects which have flowed from its publication to the Anti-Slavery Cause, and finally to unite in the proposed national remonstrance to the United States of America against Slavery (cheers). Our proceedings, I doubt not, will be marked by cordial unanimity; and I hope that the effect of this meeting, with that of our friends in Edinburgh, will be to stimulate other cities and towns to follow in this good work, and so the hands of the Abolitionists of every name in America may be strengthened, and their hearts encouraged, and that through our united efforts, under the Divine blessing, the glorious day of the slaves, liberation may be hastened (cheers). With these few remarks, and trusting to your kind indulgence, I shall not detain the business of the meeting; but now call on the mover of the first resolution to address you. Before doing so, however, I am sure it would be a gratification to you here, and I think you will unite with me in opinion, that it is only justice to the individuals whose letters are now before me, that we should hear them read. The Chairman concluded by reading a letter from Mr. George Phillips, of Haverford, the original proposer of the Penny National Testimonal, in which the writer expressed his gratification that the movement was to be taken up in Glasgow, and urged the imperative call which was laid upon the British public to enter their protest against Slavery in all its forms. The Chairman also read a long and eloquent denunciation of American Slavery from Mr. George Thompson, the well-known advocate of Emancipation, which was loudly applauded. He then called upon the mover of the first resolution.

Mr. Thomas Brown accordingly rose, and amidst loud cheers moved the adoption of the following resolution, viz —"That this meeting, regarding Slavery—and especially American Slavery—as degrading to humanity, contrary to every principle of justice and mercy, and utterly opposed to the spirit and precepts of Christianity, resolves to continue, by every prudent and legitimate means, to labour for its total and universal extinction" (loud applause). Mr. Brown supported and enforced the sentiments of the motion in a powerful and effective address, which want of space prevents our giving in detail. He commenced by referring to the fact that America, in the matter of Slavery, did not sin without light, but in defiance of the light (she knew her master's will although she did it not), and then went on to show the grounds upon which he advocated the emancipation of the slave. He plead for the slave because he was a man, and as such entitled to the rights of man, no matter what might be his country or his clime (cheers). The same principle which impelled him to ask his own freedom demanded that he asked it for a brother, whatever his position in the world, and whether an Indian or an African sun had burned upon him. Mr. Brown next described the upholders of the system in America, and dissected the hollow arguments set up by them for its apology. In particular, he referred to the sophistry made use of by certain members of a delegation, to the Evangelical Alliance, as the reason for the continuance of Slavery in America. One of their chief arguments was, that the slave-master could not get quit of them, but the operation of the recent Fugitive Slave Law showed that whatever difficulties the slave-master might have in getting quit of his slave, the slave had no difficulty in getting quit of his master. Yet strange as it might seem, it was by this kind of sophistry, that the good easy men of the Evangelical Alliance had been humbugged. The speaker next took up and replied to a number of arguments of the apologists of Slavery, and showed that the main supporters of the abominable system in America were the clergy. He mentioned the names of a number of these authorities, and quoted their sentiments, the reading of which was received with decided marks of execration. He concluded by moving the adoption of the resolution.

Deacon Convener Yuille seconded the motion, when it was put from the chair, and carried with great enthusiasm.

Rev. Mr. Scott moved the adoption of the second resolution in a very able and well-timed address—"That this meeting having hailed with feelings of the liveliest satisfaction, and devout gratitude to Almighty God, the publication and extensive circulation of the well-known work, entitled 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' from the pen of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe; in view of the beneficial results to the Anti-Slavery Cause which have followed, and are likely to continue to follow, from its perusal by the public, they tender the esteemed authoress their meed of affectionate and cordial approbation; and in farther testimony thereof, as well as to promote the great cause of emancipation, they resolve to unite in the Penny Offering which has been proposed, and is now in progress from every reader of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' to be transmitted to Mrs. Stowe, with a request that she become the almoner thereof, and distribute the same for behoof of the enslaved as she may think best. Direct the committee to promote the interesting object in this city by all proper means, and to enter into correspondence with friends of the cause in other places, in order to ensure, as far as possible, its universal adoption." In support of the motion, Mr. Scott, amongst other remarks, inquired, Who had not read "Uncle Tom's Cabin?" Who was there that had not alternately laughed and wept as he perused its thrilling pages? Who was there that had not felt his whole soul moved by its scenes of pathos? Who had not again felt his fancy tickled by the humour of many of its scenes, and by the keen and sarcastic wit with which the authoress detested hypocrisy and exposed the flagitiousness and the hollowness of much of the religion that was prevalent? Who was there that had not been deeply interested in tracing the histories of the prominent characters in that book? And who was there that had an ear to his instruction had not received various hints as to his own, it might be personal, foibles or failings in his conduct in the different relations of life? Who was there that had read that book that has not seen exhibited in it alone all the horrors of Slavery, so as to feel that Slavery was a mute thing, a thing at a distance, a thing that was passive, and to which we might be passive, as the institutions, the domestic institutions of America, with which we had nothing to do; and who was there that had not, with George Shelby, knelt over the grave of Uncle Tom, and had not muttered a curse, deep and strong, against the system of Slavery? Who was there that had not resolved with him to do all, at least, that one man could do, for the overthrow of the abominable atrocity (loud cheers). Who was there that had not felt throughout the book the development of practical Christianity more powerful than had come from the pulpit, or was exhibited in volumes of sermons? He believed that the book would do more for the abolition of Slavery than all the agitation and platform addresses that have been given hitherto with that view. Here Mr. Scott drew a contrast between the position occupied by the Duke of Wellington, the hero of his country, and Mrs. Beecher Stowe, the friend of humanity. Without at all desiring to derogate in the least from the claims of the great Duke of the laurels and honours with which he had been crowned, he said, if it were put to him whether he would have the name of a Wellington or that of Harriet Beecher Stowe, he would choose the latter (loud cheers)—because he held that the pen was greater than the sword. Wellington had waded through seas of blood, devastated fields, and filled houses with weeping and wailing and woe—and now he slept: yet even in that sleep of death it seemed that the honours they were giving him when dead were attended with fatal results to the spectators. But he trusted while the nation regretted its greatest hero, that in his grave would be buried the idea of which he might be called the representative—the idea of physical force compelling multitudes to submission (great cheering). He hoped that now a brighter and better era had dawned upon our nation and upon all the nations of the earth, when moral influence should have its sway, and when the heart of man should feel for his brother (cheers). Mr. Scott concluded amidst loud cheers by moving the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Wm. Wells Brown (the talented fugitive slave) supported the resolution in an eloquent address, illustrative of the past and present position of the Anti-Slavery Cause. The resolution was then put and carried with enthusiasm.

Rev. Mr. Jeffrey, London Road Church, said his position were misinterpreted if it were thought that he had no friendly feeling to the people of the United States, or that he did not appreciate their institutions. While a loyal subject of our exemplary Queen, he was a hearty admirer of the great Republic. The United States was a noble country, and had noble institutions. In extent of soil, in amount of population, in force of national character, it held a first place among the nations, and it was yet destined to exercise commanding influence on the liberties of mankind. Then look at its institution as they respected the whole race. They recognised no class distinctions—no monopoly of civil privileges. All were born free and equal. All men and all religions were the same in the eye of the law. The highest seat of State honour is within the reach of every member of the commonwealth. And then did not the people claim with us the same ancestry? Were they not linked to us by English literature—by British laws—by Saxon energy, and Saxon tongue? Were there not besides hundreds and thousands amongst them that were bound to us by the tenderest ties—by associations that told of youth, and home, and hope, and love? He should feel as if he were committing a treason against countrymen and kindred—as if he were blind to much that ennobles and exalts mankind—if he did not speak of the American people as he spoke of Britons, and did not express his earnest hope that the United States flag of stars and stripes might long be unfurled to the breeze, and her feet stand secure in her charter of independence (cheers). He loved the American people, and could plead as warmly as any American in defence of all that was noble, and generous, and praiseworthy, either in their national character or in their political institutions. But he was not here to praise the people of the United States, but to plead with them. There were three millions of our fellow-men held by them in civil bondage—a bondage sanctioned by American law, and floated over by the flag of the American Union. It is this which has convened us, and it presents a case for our sympathy and a cause for our remonstrance. It asks our sympathy with the oppressed and remonstrance with the oppressor, that the one may cease his moaning and the other his sin. We are here to plead that the land to which we are so closely related by kindred, by law, and by religion, now burdened by trangresses against man and guilt against God, may no longer lie prostrate in moral character and moral influence among the nations, but rising to the height of its character of independence, which declares that all men are born free and equal, may become by its example a blessing to the world. We are here to ask that the great republican America be no longer a hissing amongst men—that the name of freedom be no longer associated with the most outrageous theft of human rights—and with the most monstrous usurpation of human liberties, done under the eye of law and shelter of the mantle of religion; and we are here to do it at the instance of conscience for the sake of humanity, of Christianity, and of God (applause). Three millions of men are sighing to men for pity and to heaven for help, and silence would make us partakers of their oppressors' sin. He could not speak of American Slavery without expressing his sympathy with the oppressed. Let it never be forgotten what American Slavery is. It is no Israelitish or Gibeonite bondage. There is no counterpart to its features in any other form of the evil. It is perhaps the most debasing and galling bondage the world has ever seen. It degrades man to the rank of the brute—reckons him in the eye of the law as chattels personal—sells him at the auction stand to the highest bidder—forbids him the permanence of the marriage tie—separates him from his wife and pairs him with another—sells his children, for in the eye of law they are not his, but the property of his master—forbids his instruction, that through ignorance his submission to tyranny may be perfect, and even denies to him the Bible, lest the grace of God, by it breaking the bondage of his spiritual death, should also break the bondage of his hard task-master. This is no over-charged picture. It is the awful living reality. There, in that country, where the people make the boast that all men are born free and equal, there are three millions and a quarter of our fellow-men who have only the standing of chattels personal—who, according to law, have no right to their bodies—no right to their wives—no right to their children—no right to the fruit of their toil—no right to available protection in law—no right to know either truth or duty but at the will of a master—who are denied right to their reason—a home to their hearts—the permanence and purities of marriage to their affections, and even the Bible with all the blessings of salvation to their souls. Such is American Slavery; and it is one of the most monstrous enormities, he did not hesitate to aver, the world has ever seen. Think of our fellow-men under the operations of such a system. Did not our hearts bleed for them? What a land of tears, and sighs, and mourning, must that land be—what desolate hearts are there—what broken spirits—what a voice of woe is every hour ascending up to Heaven—what a cry for retribution is every moment entering into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth (loud cheers). Can it be thought that this fearful degradation of three millions of men has no voice in heaven—that the inhumanity and impurities which the people of the United States perpetrate under the plea of the system are nothing in the eye of God. God has seen the transgressor, and any purged eye may also discover that he is purging her by her very sin. Nay, who cannot see, if she do not speedily repent the coming of still more fearful calamities, American Slavery must be abolished (cheers). What are the means of abolition? Under God, we look to the elevation and purifying of public sentiments. Some may say it is hopeless to expect that the country which erewhile passed that barbarous fugitive slave law would ever think of the abolition of Slavery. That fugitive slave law—the stain of the United States statute book—the disgrace of American legislation, which has converted every official of every State of the Union into kidnappers of runaway men, is significant of abolition (cheers). The iron grasp tells of a losing hand (cheers). The weaker the despot, the greater the tyranny (cheers). The fugitive slave bill is one of those convulsive movements that precede death—one of those anxious graspings at means of life that betray the presence of dissolution (loud cheers). The cause of abolition is gaining by this very effort of the oppression to retain the slave in bondage. There is need, however, for the elevation and purity of public sentiments in America. As a minister of Christ, he could not think of the elevation of the public sentiments of a people—of the information of their understanding—of the purifying of their hearts—of the improvement of their manners, without thinking of the pulpit and of the Gospel of the grace of God. If he thought of American Slavery, he thought of the Lord Jesus Christ, who came to undo the heavy burdens—to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke (cheers). He thought also of those who were the professed ministers of Christ, who are called to preach a gospel that recognises no bondage and shelters no oppression—that says to all who listen to its voice, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them. He looked to the pulpits of the United States, and what did he find? In regard to Slavery, with a few exceptions, they were dumb as death, and as silent as the grave. Not so. While he listened, he did hear utterances (loud cheering). Is it some prayers for the oppressed—some earnest intercession that God would cause his oppression to cease? Is it some atrocity on the words of one of old? I pray you, my brethren, do not so wickedly. Is it some thundernote that tells Judah her transgression and Jerusalem her sin? Let us listen, says one, and he a minister of Christ, "If one prayer of mine could liberate every slave, I should not utter it." He stood by the American pulpit, and he heard the professed minister of Christ declare himself the apologist of oppression and the advocate of bondage. Could he wonder that American Slavery existed? The American pulpit vindicates it, and the American slaveholder is protected in the name of American religion—is welcomed to the table of the Lord—and is even clothed with the robes of official sanctity. American christianity embraces the slaveholder, and he clings for life to the horns of her altar. He would not pronounce on the piety of American churches, or of American pulpits. This, however, he would ask—Did Christ preach liberty to the captive, and are his professed ministers to preach captivity (cheer)? Has he sent them forth with a message of deliverance, and are they on his name to become the apologists of bondage. Is the Christianity of the man who is the advocate of the oppressor like the Christianity of Jesus Christ? Is it like him or like his religion to have no voice of sympathy, of consolation, or of help to our injured and oppressed and degraded fellow-men. Turn, however, from the American pulpit to the American newspaper press. This is at once the index of public feeling, and, in a truly free country, the safeguard of social and political rights. In this land the liberty of the press is the palladium of freedom. Who that knows aught of the United States, however, does not know that, with some and honourable exceptions, the newspaper press of that country, as regards Slavery, is rotten to the core (hear, hear). It charges itself with the abuse of abolition principles—it sneers at every plea for freedom—while it fails not to circulate the vilest calumnies on the character of every man who has the courage to speak a word for the overthrow of the peculiar institution. When, however, one word of pity for the slave or of pleading with the oppressor, the American pulpit and the American press are the two main pillars of American bondage. How, then, is public sentiment to be elevated and purified? The United States are not barren—they are not without high moral, energetic agency. There are men in this country—[illegible] men—tried men in the cause of abolition, who have long and faithfully plead the cause of the slave, and prayed for the close of his oppression (cheers). There are hearts that have felt, and pens that have written, and tongues that have spoken in that land, and they have not felt, and written, and spoken in vain. They have done what they could, and they are doing what they can, to hasten the fall of American bondage, and wipe a foul blot from the escutcheon of American freedom (cheers). We may not leave the people of the United States, however, without the voice of friendly and faithful remonstrance. Is it not fearful that we require to remonstrate with such a people? We wonder not that we have to remonstrate with such a country as Tuscany, under the yoke of superstition and despotism—that a Duke, priest-ridden by Jesuits, should need a remonstrance to set the Madiai free. Think, however, of a people requiring remonstrance that boast of their country as the birth-place of liberty, and proclaimed as the sanctuary of the refugees from European despotism. On entering Austria when last in Germany, he found the Bible a prohibited book at Vienna and Prague. We could tell them 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was not prohibited there—they might see from the public newspapers, that bills of all form and size announce at present, in Vienna, the German translation of that work, and that in various editions it is now circulating by thousands throughout the Austrian empire. This was a most significant fact. Why was this book so announced in a land from which, not long ago, so many Bibles were ejected? The explanation was easy, and pregnant with meaning. The Austrian government find in that work a portraiture of American oppression sufficient to vindicate the whippings of Haynau, and the barbarities of Hungary. Shall not the Austrian know the oppression of the people that feasted Kossuth, and the Slavery of the land that found him a home. Let the American speak of Kossuth and Austrian despotism, and Austria pointing to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' and through it to the condition of three millions of slaves. Austria has a right to do so, for the oppression of Hungary is nothing to the Slavery of the United States (hear, hear). But is it not fitted to make every American blush, that free, enlightened, religious, republican America is to become the plea of European tyranny. Why should the despots of modern Europe be able to say to such a country, either in sympathy or in scorn, a country whose legitimate moral influence in the progress of constitutional liberty might be second to no single nation of the earth, art thou also weak as we—art thou also become like unto us (hear)? Is this thraldom of American Slavery to have no end? Are these three millions of our fellow-men to live and die in bondage? No! American Slavery is doomed (tremendous cheering). It cannot live. Providence is hastening the solution of the problem of abolition. It has almost resolved itself into a question of races. Slavery in the United States will not live an hour without the Northern bayonets. Who that is a lover of that country does not wish to see it come to a peaceful and happy close? But there is a point in the history of man at which the cup of oppression runs over; and then how fares it with the oppressor? There is enough in all the history of the past to teach the wicked rulers their wickedness, their danger, their duty, if Slavery has not put out their eyes, so that they are unable to read the very letters of the alphabet of practical wisdom. It is our duty to remonstrate with them, that this oppression may cease. We look at three millions of men groaning under the woes and pains of Slavery, and we pray, in the name of humanity, that they be released. We look at them as men, we find them equally with ourselves the children of the same common Father—and, in the name of the universal brotherhood of man, we pray for their release (loud cheers). We look at them in the eye of liberty—liberty, which is every man's birthright—the theft of which is the sum of all villainy, and, in the name of liberty, we plead for their emancipation. Nay, we look at them in the light of Christianity, as those who are fitted to participate in the blessings of Christ's redemption—and there are not a few of them believers in the Lord; and, we say, will you keep him in bondage whom God's spirit has made free?—will you shackle the image of God the Saviour?—will you keep a Christian brother in Slavery? In the name of Christianity and for the sake of Christ, we pray you to deliver our Christian brother—she good disciple—from bondage (loud cheering). We remonstrate with our brethren—the people of the United States—that they put away their sin. Oh! it is the glory of our fatherland, however far from perfect are its people and its institutions, that his foot upon its soil emancipates a slave (applause). Do we not feel our hearts swell with exaltation at the thought that the very first inhalation of the breath of the breeze wherever the British flag is flapping is the birth of a freeman (cheers)? Were it for nothing else, our hearts would warm to it as the symbol of liberty. Let the people of the United States purge their soil and purify their atmosphere. Every voice of duty and religion prays them to arise in the might and majesty of principle and faith, and purchase deliverance to their three millions of bondsmen. Then shall the light of that land break forth as the morning, and her health speedily, and God shall cause her to ride on the high places of the earth (tremendous applause). The resolution was as follows:

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Abolition of American Slavery is to be looked for mainly under the divine blessing, and, as was the case with the Slavery of the British Colonies, to the purifying and elevating of public sentiment; that to this end it is highly important that the people of this country should, in fraternal and christian feeling, remonstrate with the people of the United States on their continuing to hold in cruel thraldom more than three millions of their fellow-beings, equally with themselves created in the image of God, and equally fitted to participate in the blessing of the Christian redemption; they, therefore, resolve to concur in the national remonstrance to the United States against Slavery, which has been proposed by the friends of emancipation in Edinburgh; and direct the committee to take all needful means to obtain its extensive signature, and ultimate transmission to America."

Mr. Jeffrey announced, amid loud applause, that he had received a letter from the agent of a bookselling firm in London, who had remitted £500 to Mrs. Stowe, being part of their profits on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, with a promise of 10 per cent. on all future sales.

Mr. Matthew Cullen supported the resolution with a number of excellent practical remarks which were received with much applause.

On the motion of Mr. J. W. M'Gregor, a vote of thanks was then given to the chairman, and the immense meeting broke up.—*Glasgow Post.*

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Convention of the members and friends of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society met, as appointed, in the small saloon of the Assembly Buildings, on Wednesday morning, December 15th, 1852. At its opening, the number collected was small, but through the session and through the day it continued to increase, until the pleasant hall was well filled.

C. M. Burleigh called the attention of the assembly to the object of the Convention, and alluded to some of the difficulties the friends of the slave had to encounter, earnestly exhorting them to fidelity to their cause in the darkest hours. It is easy, he remarked, to be interested when surrounded by enthusiasm, to glide down the current of popular emotion which sweeps deeply and strongly around us. To men of certain organizations, even opposition serves as a whetstone to their zeal. But popular apathy, popular stagnation, brings the severest trial of principle. It is this which proves whether we are fixed upon eternal principle or moved by sympathy; whether an abiding sense of duty or transient feeling impels us. Abolitionists have need to be men of principle, of clear perceptions of right, of strong convictions of duty, men of firmness and self-reliance. Our cause requires men who will be content to work alone, through chilling neglect, as well as open opposition; men who will find in their labour their present reward, in their high faith and clear hope the perpetual promise of success. No great work was ever accomplished without stern trials, lonely toil of brain and hand, disappointments, [illegible] aye, yearnings and prayers unheard by human ear. [illegible] with exultation upon great achievements in Art or in Architecture, upon brilliant discoveries in science or beneficent inventions; but upon them all we may read the record of wearying thought, secret heart-aches, long suspense and solitary labour, as well as of joyful success. So upon every mission of blessing to man, upon every beneficent reform, inscribed the history of toil and suffering and triumph. By the cross is won the crown.

Without this cost, we cannot hope for an enterprise so vast and benevolent as ours, to succeed. Let us be prepared to give it, knowing that we shall, in the act itself, receive a richer recompense.

The speaker also presented, at some length, considerations of encouragement and hope, drawn from the object and principles of our cause, from its evident progress, and from the past history of Reform. In concluding, he moved that the Convention be organized by the choice of James Mott as President.

The motion was adopted, and Mr. Mott took the chair.

On motion of Lucretia Mott, C. M. Burleigh was chosen Secretary.

Rev. Henry Grew addressed the Convention briefly, expressing his sympathy with the sentiments already offered. He hoped that we should cling fast to our principles; that, when called as now, to choose whether to obey God or wicked human law, we should not hesitate; that we should not be deceived by the seductive plea of expediency; but should ever maintain that the true expediency is in doing right. If, like Joseph in Egypt, we cherished this faith, it would sustain us amid all the fluctuations of public sentiment. Seeming defeat would prove real success, and through our darkest hours we should ever possess a reward in our own breasts.

Captain Drayton, being present, was requested to give some account of his imprisonment in Washington for a deed of mercy; but he excused himself on account of indisposition, promising to do so to-morrow, if well enough.

A general and highly interesting discussion here followed upon topics which were subsequently embodied in the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, That in view of the misrepresentions, the prejudices and misunderstandings, which, as Abolitionists, we encounter, we re-affirm that in its object, its principles, and its measures, the Anti-Slavery movement is truly and eminently philanthropic and Christian.

2. Resolved, That, like the Messiah, it comes to proclaim deliverance to the captive, to open the prison to the bound, to set at liberty the bruised; that, like his, its principles are the brotherhood of man and the supremacy of justice; its spirit is Love; its reliance is not on physical force, cunning management or a selfish expediency, but on the power of Truth, fearlessly spoken and purely exemplified.

3. Resolved, That while our chief confidence for success rests in the truth of our principles and the justice of our cause, we are encouraged to increased faithfulness and activity by the steady and irresistible progress of this cause against all the hosts of unrighteousness arrayed for its destruction.

4. Resolved, That, we see evidences of our past success and signs of promise for the future, in the increase of Anti-Slavery influence and talent in Congress, in the utter defeat of every attempt to put down this agitation, in the political overthrow of leading politicians who had sought power by devotion to Slavery, in the sundering of pro-slavery parties and sects, in the changing tone of the public press, in the multiplication of Anti-Slavery papers, in the new voices for Freedom from the Pulpit and the Bar, in the decrease of popular prejudice against our cause and its advocates, and against the people of colour, in the rapid growth of an Anti-Slavery literature, in the widening agitation everywhere among the people at home, and in the awakening of the civilized world in hostility to American Slavery and in sympathy for the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

5. Resolved, That while we take pleasure in recapitulating the evidences of our advancement, we do not lose sight of the fact that in the United States, Slavery has undergone no diminution either in the atrocity of its character or the number of its victims; that on the contrary, 70,000 new sufferers are every year born into the world, destined to pass under the yoke and to be subject to all the liabilities of human beings converted into chattels and treated as marketable commodities; that the slave system has abated none of its injustice, or cruelty, that its advocates are untiring in their efforts to extend and promote it; and that the slave power is at this moment making unparalleled exertions to acquire new territory on which to extend the area of that baneful system; and that in view of all these facts it behooves the friends of emancipation to labour faithfully and perseveringly, and with increased zeal for the spread of their principles and the early consummation of their most beneficent enterprises.

6. Resolved, That among the many events that are transpiring to cheer and aid us in our progress, none affords us more sincere satisfaction, or promises more substantial good to the cause, than that of the recent establishment in England of a new and thorough-going Anti-Slavery newspaper; that we hail the appearance of the British *Anti-Slavery Advocate* with especial pleasure, from the fact that such a paper, genuine in its Anti-Slavery character, free from sectarian bias, and of a broad and catholic spirit, has long been felt to be a desideratum by the Abolitionists both of Great Britain and the United States, and also that such a journal is indispensably necessary to maintain that effective co-operation between the friends of freedom in the two countries, which is felt to be so important to the early triumph of our righteous cause.

7. Resolved, That we commend the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, as a judicious and ably-edited Anti-Slavery journal to all who desire to keep themselves informed of Anti-Slavery efforts on the other side of the water, and who wish to aid in the support of an enterprise well adapted to render most valuable aid to our cause.

J. M. McKim spoke hopefully of the progress and prospects of the cause, stating, and remarking upon, several cheering facts in illustration of his belief. The presence of Capt. Drayton, in our Convention, he regarded as such a fact. More than five years ago, he and Capt. Sayres were immured in the National prison, doomed to a life-long confinement, and with but a feeble hope of release until death. He is again free, and with his friends, having accomplished perhaps more of good than he designed. Still to one who knew him five years ago, the strong, hardy, active sailor, ready for every emergency, it is sad to see him so broken down in health and suffering from disease. But for this result of that cruel imprisonment, we might feel it had produced, contrary to the design of its authors, more of good for our cause than of suffering to him.

We may find encouragement every where in the political and in the literary world. In Congress, the strongest champions of Slavery are passing away, and none rise up who can fill their places. The greatest talent and profoundest learning in the Senate are not now arrayed for Slavery, but on the side of Freedom. A few years ago we were thankful for any sympathy or support for our principles from the humblest members of the House. Now the voices of the most eloquent are pleading there against Slavery. Once discussions of the question of Slavery were very rare; now it is the one great subject which forces itself into notice at every point. Attempts to put down the agitation only fan the flame. So in the church and the pulpit, though these are so slow to move, we have indications of progress. Among the few faithful ministers of this city, we have no truer friend, nor a more effective one, than Wm. H. Furness. His pulpit is never dumb. Truly from week to week has he obeyed the injunction to "cry aloud and spare not," until in no church in Philadelphia is Anti-Slavery truth more favourably received. The same would be true of every other church and of the Quaker meeting, were their ministers equally faithful. Others there are, such as the Rev. Henry D. Moore, Rev. Mr. Wilson, and Rev. Mr. Chauncey, who are true friends to our cause.

In literature as in politics, the Anti-Slavery question is absorbing the public attention. Uncle Tom's Cabin is the book of the times. Scarcely any book except of the Cabin literature is read now. England is flooded with it. It is pouring over the Continent. Uncle Tom's Cabin has already been translated into German, French, Danish and Swedish. The White Slave, by Hildreth, is also doing a vast deal of good. This promises to be the popular style of literature for some time to come. These, with [illegible] sufficient to inspire a cheerful hope and thankful confidence in our cause. All that remains to us is to labour patiently and perseveringly, and we must triumph.

Henry Grew stated that a large number of the Baptist denomination had separated from the Baptist Mission Union, on account of its connection with Slavery and had formed the Free Missionary Society.

Mrs Mott agreed with the cheering views presented, but would not have the darker side of the picture forgotten, or overlooked. We have much to do yet. Indeed, we have but begun our work. Though we have almost reached the second decade since the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the number of slaves is still increasing, and the alarmed slaveholders are labouring with unabated zeal to secure new power and fresh markets for their slaves. This should not discourage us, but should prompt us to renewed activity and earnestness. When we "remember those in bonds as bound with them," this fact would make us sad, but that we find a daily reward and encouragement in our work, cheering and strengthening our hearts. This is, as Cyrus Burleigh has said, God's benediction upon the faithful worker. Such occasions as this make me cheerful. I love these Fairs, and am never weary with them, and never ready for the lights to be put out. To those whose hearts are in this work of Anti-Slavery truth it is never tiresome or old. It is well for the slave that it is so, and also that his friends shall cherish a hopeful spirit. At the same time, we should in no respect relax our own labours in the trust that the cause can do without us. Let us not leave it to Congress, but continue to urge its members up to duty, and continue to make the public sentiment which will sustain them, reproving those even whom we delight to honour, when they compromise principle. This fidelity I admire in Garrison.

Mrs. Mott, in conclusion, alluded to some of the hopeful events which have recently transpired, among them the late meeting of women at the house of the Duchess of Sutherland, to adopt an Address to their sisters in America, concerning American Slavery.

Mr. McKim had seen with peculiar satisfaction the establishment of a thorough and radical Anti-Slavery paper in Great Britain, and spoke in high commendation of its character and spirit. The old British and Foreign Anti Slavery Committee were virtually dead to the cause, and their *Reporter* was a positive hindrance to the cause. A new movement and a new Anti-Slavery organ were needed, and in obedience to that need the movement has been begun, and such an organ has appeared.

Mrs. Mott remarked that it was in connection with this new Anti-Slavery movement in England that our friend and co-labourer, Sarah Pugh, was detained abroad, instead of being with us as usual, exercising an active oversight of our Fair. The importance of her presence was scarcely known until we learned it from her absence. This has taught us how true it is that "Blessings brighten as they take their flight." But much as we need her presence, we are reconciled to her absence, by the knowledge that she is doing an important work for our cause in England. Her visit there was peculiarly opportune, and has already done much to remove prejudice and false impressions from many honest minds, misled by the sectarian calumnies and malicious representations against prominent American Abolitionists, so busily circulated by the British and Foreign Committee, with the aid of Anna Richardson. Some who, by these influences, had been made to regard Garrison and his associates as "infidels," have been already enlightened and won over as co-workers with us in this holy cause. Based as it is on eternal truth, they thus became co-workers with justice, co-workers with Christ and God. We rejoice to see that, even in our own country, many who had, for a time, been alienated from us, are again returning and uniting with us.

J. A. Dugdale said he could not permit this meeting to adjourn without an expression of his delight in it. His soul had been strengthened by the words he had heard and the spirit he had witnessed.

The Convention then adjourned to 3 1-2 P. M.

Afternoon.—The Convention met at the hour appointed, the house being well filled with eager listeners. The President being absent, E. F. Pennypacker was called to the Chair.

Robert Purvis thought that Mr. McKim, in discussing the prospects of our cause, had only looked at its bright side, while the dark side should also be kept in view. Mr. P. continued in an impressive and powerful speech, upon the growth of the Slave Power, its recent victories, its insatiable greediness, and its increasing aggressions upon the rights of the nominally free. The parties of the country, instead of choosing the "least of two evils," seemed now to act on the principle of choosing the worst. They did not ask which candidate was most Anti-Slavery, or most favourable to freedom, but which would most basely and efficiently serve Slavery. The Abolitionists were a mere handful compared with the whole people, and though their principles must triumph, he would not have them fancy that the work was almost done. He thought that a slaveholder might give facts as conclusive upon his own side as Mr McKim on his. He would discourage no Abolitionist, but would have all see the real difficulties before them, and know the necessity of continued labour. He would have them trust in their principles, and in God for victory, not in compromising politicians or writers of fiction. He alluded to Kossuth's visit to this country, and condemned him in strong terms for his course toward Slavery and the Free Coloured people.

Mr. McKim replied, that there was no controversy between his friend Purvis and himself, nor any ground for any. He had mentioned some reasons for encouragement in our labour, to cheer the desponding, if such there were; but he had said nothing inconsistent with Mr. Purvis's counsel that we trust in God and not in man. He had not endorsed the Anti-Slavery consistency of Chase, Hale, Sumner, Giddings, Bishop Potter, Mrs. Stowe, or Kossuth; but he rejoiced that Anti-Slavery was preached, though by those who did not accept its highest principles; as Paul rejoiced for the preaching of Christ, though it were in strife and contention. I would to God, he continued, that all were uncompromising and true philantropists; but even in their partial action and inconsistent speech we see proof of what Anti-Slavery has done. In the enthusiasm with which the masses of the people greeted Kossuth, there was much genuine love of liberty. He was looked upon as its representative, as a world-wide philanthropist. But many hearts sunk to find that he was not equal to the occasion. It was humiliating to see that great man prove himself nothing but a patriot; and to see Judge Kane leave the bench of the Treason trials to pour out an ovation to the distinguished "fugitive" from Austrian despotism. But Kossuth's words for freedom, and the sympathies he inspired, will not be in vain.

I have not attempted to measure the usefulness of Uncle Tom's Cabin, but I regard it as eminently a useful book; not only from its effect upon my own feelings, but from its influence upon others. It has softened their feelings and rendered them more willing to read Anti-Slavery papers, attend our meetings, and to work for our cause. In England our friends tell us that it has caused a great revival of Anti-Slavery feeling. Some of the contributions to this Fair have come as the fruits of its influence.

I do not forget nor excuse its chapter on Colonization, but so much stronger is truth than error, that I believe that chapter, neutralized as it is by the spirit of the book, does little harm. Nobody reads the book because it is there. Its circulation would have been no less had it been omitted.

I am told that I should present the 'dark side' of our prospects. This is apparent enough without our holding it up. I think that most persons are already too prone to look upon the dark side. It becomes us to show them that there are sufficient reasons for confidence in our success.

The discussion was continued with increasing interest to the hour of adjournment, by Mrs. Mott, Mr. Purvis, Joseph A. Dugdale, James Mott, Esther Moore and C. M. Burleigh, and it was listened to by the audience with evident satisfaction. The Convention then adjourned to 10 1-2 o'clock to-morrow morning, the assembly resorting to the Fair to partake of its social enjoyments.

THURSDAY MORNING.

The Convention again assembled, the President [illegible] the chair, and a [illegible] present. Rev. Henry Grew drew a contrast between the treatment extended to slaveholders and that of horsethieves, by the church and the people: urging that as we would not purchase stolen horses, so we should refuse to buy the plundered products of the slave's toil.

Further remarks were made by Mrs. Mott, Charles Hambleton, J. M. McKim and the President, encouraging the largest liberty of discussion.

Capt. Drayton being present, at the request of the Convention gave a simple and thrilling narrative of his sufferings for the cause of humanity in the National Capital. He said that he was entirely unaccustomed to public speaking: he had never been an Abolitionist, nor had he been familiar with their societies or operations; but he had seen much of the cruelties of Slavery, and his sympathies were excited for the poor sufferers: he had desired to free as many as he could. In one instance, he had aided three boys, and in another, a woman and five children to gain their liberty; but no suspicion was excited against him. Nor would he have been suspected in the case of the Schooner Pearl had not a Judas betrayed him.

I have not known the principles of the Abolitionists, continued Capt. D., but mine have been, "In God, I trust, and truth and righteousness are my law."

two years before my discharge, when I was removed to a more comfortable part of the prison away from such degraded society.

But while I was imprisoned I was not forgotten. I had good friends who did what they could for my comfort and release; my story was told to men whom I had never seen, and friends whom I never knew, were raised up for me. Petitions were sent to the President in my behalf. Personal appeals were made to him. Among those who interested themselves for me was Charles Sumner. He went to President Fillmore and plead my cause with him. The President promised to pardon me if he could be satisfied of his power to do so. Mr. Sumner hunted up authorities and decisions, and wrote out a long argument proving the power, and the Attorney General endorsed it, and Capt. Sayres and myself were pardoned, after an imprisonment of four years and five months.

All this I suffered. For what? For Righteousness sake; for deeds of compassion and mercy; for loving my neighbour as myself. Like Paul going to Jerusalem, I have obeyed the voice of duty, not knowing to what it would bring me. I have thus far been protected by many mercies; my life is spared, though my health is broken down. God only knows what he has now in store for me.

I have endeavoured to be a friend to the slave. I believe in showing my faith by my works, and this I have tried to do. We have different duties, though working for one cause. Some persons show their sympathy for the slave by talking, some by writing. I can do neither, and I have tried to show mine by bringing him off from Slavery. The slave wants friends who are true, who are no counterfeits; men who will sacrifice self to a great principle. God never carried on a great cause without a sacrifice. Suppose I had been dirked by the slave trader, or murdered by the mob, my blood would have cried from the ground, and my death would have done more perhaps for the deliverance of the slave, than my life will do. I might have saved myself, and have been paid by the slaveholders by turning against my friends, but what should I have gained? I knew that no traitor ever came to anything. Four times I have been shipwrecked, and once saved my life by swimming through a surf that would have broken in pieces any boat. My life has been spared, and I feel that God has got something for me to do yet; that some important destiny awaits me. I am willing to lie as clay in the hands of the potter. If I am called to any further service for the slave, no laws or penalties shall deter me. I have no regrets for what I have done. Much more I could say, but like Moses, I am slow of speech, and I will not longer take your time.

The audience listened with intense interest to Capt. Drayton's narrative; his unaffected manner and the marks of long suffering which he bore, adding much to the effect of his words.

C. M. Burleigh, before offering a series of resolutions, said he had been so affected by the touching story we had heard, that he hesitated to read resolutions which he had prepared before hearing that tale. While listening to it, he had thought of Emerson's saying, that "it makes a vast difference with the weight of a man's word, whether it has a man behind it or not." Behind these simple unadorned words from our suffering friend, there stands a life which proves how much they have meant to him. They are the coinage of long and bitter experiences; the lesson of years of suffering. No man has better proved his title to counsel us to duty, to self-denial and sacrifice. How insignificant seem all our trials, our disappointments and deprivations, compared with those suffered so patiently and bravely by our friend. After expressing the hope that we should all learn from this example a lesson of self-devotion, fidelity, courage, high trust and patient endurance Mr. B. offered the resolutions, 1, 2 and 3, and subsequently offered No. 4, all of which were accepted for consideration.

Henry Grew offered the following resolution, which was also accepted:

Whereas, It is our manifest duty to confirm our principles by our own consistent practice, and whereas, the profit paid by the purchasers and consumers of the products of the slave's cruel and unrequited toil is the foundation of the entire system of Slavery, therefore,

Resolved, That we earnestly request the friends of the slave to abstain from the purchase and use of these fruits of robbery,

J. McKim offered the resolutions (5 and 6) upon the British Anti-Slavery Advocate, which were also accepted.

Esther Moore spoke with much feeling, of the case of Rachel and Elizabeth Parker, the free coloured women kidnapped from Chester county, about a year since, and still confined in prison in Baltimore, awaiting their trial. She also alluded to the murder of Joseph C. Miller, by the Maryland kidnappers to hide their previous crime. It was sad and shameful, she said, that these things did not call forth prompt and resolute action by Pennsylvania, for the protection of her citizens.

Some discussion followed upon the subject of underground railroad and vigilance committee operations, touching the course of Chaplin, Torrey, and others, in which Robert Purvis, Capt. Drayton, Mrs. Mott, C. M. Burleigh, J. M. McKim, Lydia White, and the President participated, when the Convention adjourned to 3 P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

The Convention met, the President taking the Chair.

Mr. McKim called up the resolutions he had offered upon the new British Anti-Slavery journal, and remarked that he considered the establishment in England of the "Anti-Slavery Advocate" as a most auspicious circumstance. When he first heard of it, he hailed it as the harbinger of a better state of things in that country, and as an event full of promise to the Anti-Slavery cause. All know how much our movement has suffered from the want of an instrumentality of this kind on the other side of the water. There was, to be sure, a paper published there, a few copies of which find their way to this country—the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, but it was not only one of the dullest, most stupid of all the papers in the world, but was conducted by a set of men who are strangers to the genuine spirit of abolition, and who made it subservient to their own narrow sectarian prejudices and purposes. There was no vitality—no soul in the paper. Its object seemed to be to keep the public of England in the darkness in regard to every thing that was of the most interest and concern to the cause. The Anti-Slavery movement proper, in this country—the *original* movement—that in which the cause, under God, lived, and moved and had its being, was utterly ignored by this professedly Anti-Slavery journal. Nothing was allowed to enter its columns which did not square with the narrow prejudices, sectarian interests or personal antipathies of the little knot of bigots who had charge of it. The paper not only did no good—it did actual harm: it was an incubus upon the cause, and an obstacle to its progress. It was a most admirable invention to keep the people of England in the dark in regard to everything that was most important to be known by them. The pro-slavery papers of the North, and the slaveholders of the South, could not have desired anything better adapted to their purpose. In the name of abolition, it was a continual panderer to pro-slavery and sectarian prejudice, and by diverting the sympathies and keeping back the aid and co-operation of British Abolitionists, it did more harm to the cause it professed to advocate than it could have done if it had been an open opponent.

It was to be hoped, however, that this state of things would now come to an end. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* has had its day. The necessities of the cause in England has called into existence a journal of very different spirit—the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*. The *Advocate* is, as the resolution describes it, a paper of radical and thorough Anti-Slavery character, knowing no sect, exhibiting no theological prejudices or antipathies, and of a broad and catholic spirit. It is edited with judgment and ability, and though of unpretending dimensions, was, in the speaker's judgment, the "day of small things," which was not to be despised—the beginning of a new and better era in the history of the Anti-Slavery cause in Great Britain. A paper of this kind was needed to secure and maintain co-operation between the Abolitionists of this country and those of England. The *Reporter* had been put to a use precisely the opposite of this. Its mission seemed to be to keep apart, instead of bringing together, the true friends of the cause. In its columns, the most active and efficient Abolitionists of this country were treated as if they had no existence; the American Anti-Slavery Society and its numerous auxiliaries, including our own Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, were never mentioned, and the only evidence that the little knot of sectarians who had charge of the paper were themselves aware of the existence of the Abolitionists and these Societies, was seen in the pains taken by them, through private whisperings, to asperse their reputation and discredit their character. The stale charge of infidelity, which has been pretty much lived down in this country, and which no man, having a character as an Abolitionist, will now dare to make publicly, is circulated in conversation and by private letters, for the purpose of destroying confidence in Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors, and withholding aid from the American Anti-Slavery Society. This stale slander, which no longer answers its purpose among intelligent people here, is tranferred to England, there to do its unworthy work. There is reason to believe that there are people in this country, calling themselves Abolitionists, who would not dare in any public assembly, or through the newspapers which they conduct, or to which they have access, to assume the responsibility of making this charge, who, nevertheless, connive at its circulation abroad. These people, with their coadjutors in England, have succeeded, to a great extent, in prejudicing the people of Great Britain against the truest friends of the slave in this country. It is to be hoped that their power is drawing to an end. The appearance of the *Anti Slavery Advocate* was some proof of this, and was, therefore, a just occasion of rejoicing.

At the close of Mr. McKim's remarks, the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The three first resolutions were taken up, read, discussed, and some slight verbal amendments made in them. Upon the claim in the first resolution, that the Anti-Slavery cause is "*Christian*," a long and spirited discussion took place; Mrs. Mott, B. R. Plumley, C. M. Burleigh, J. M. McKim, Levi Coates, Mr. Curtis, Mrs. Tyndale and others, participated. No difference of opinion existed as to the truth of the claim, but only upon the wisdom of making it. The question was argued by Mrs. Mott that we might let our works speak for us, adopting the sentiments of Jesus to the disciples of John, "Go tell John the works that ye do see and hear." George Combe, when asked by certain ministers how he reconciled the teachings of his science with the Bible, answered them: "I leave that to you." So we, as Abolitionists, may calmly pursue our work, leaving it to others to see its resemblance to Christianity. To claim the name, seemed like an attempt to conciliate the narrow sectarian bigotry which has called us infidels. Then there are those who do not take the name of Christian who hate Slavery. Let us make our platform broad enough to receive all who wish to come

Mr. Curtis said, If it is true that the great light and pillar of Christianity has just passed away, as pulpit and newspaper eulogies assert, then the Abolitionists are not Christian, but infidel; for their teachings and lives are the opposite of his. Let us not cling to names, but to principles. Great principles will coin great words, but the words will not become great until they become popular. We should aim to give the people higher ideas. They are only to be elevated by the elevation of their ideas, not by changing their names. They must be made more just, noble, truthful, loving. They must increase their good sense. If we would have effective and reliable Abolitionists, we must convert and enlighten every person by principles, not draw them to us by interest. We need not men wearing our name, but intelligent defenders of principle. In the revolutions of Europe, the people were not elevated, but only took a new name. Hence, they have retrograded, and the forms of despotism have again taken the place of republicanism. The life of Christianity is eternal progress. Every individual of us must become an apostle of these truths. On us rests the responsibility of teaching all with whom we come in contact. The only way we can lift the black man from the mire is by elevating whites and blacks together by a higher culture.

C. M. Burleigh, while cordially agreeing with the views just offered, saw nothing inconsistent with them in the resolution. It is admitted that the Anti-Slavery movement is Christian, as the resolution asserts; that its principles are identical with those of Jesus, and its mission, like his, a mission of Freedom, Justice, Mercy, and Love. Now, there are thousands of well-meaning and honest minds around us, who have been prejudiced against our cause by the false charges and odious epithets of its enemies. We owe it alike to our cause, and to them, to inform them truly of our principles and objects. We make no attempt to conciliate bigotry or sectarian intolerance; but rather to enlighten ignorance, and remove prejudice by truth. That we use the word *Christian* in no sectarian sense, is evident from our definition of it, in our resolutions. Our platform is broad and Catholic enough to receive all lovers of Freedom and enemies of Slavery; none will be repelled by our claiming the sanctions of Christianity for our principles. Our resolutions, as did Jesus, call attention to the works done by our enterprise, as the evidence of its divinity. As he claimed to be of the Father, so we claim that our cause is Christian, because it does the works of Christ. It proclaims deliverance to the captive, feeds the hungry, succours the wounded and saves the lost. It teaches Justice, Mercy, and the brotherhood of man.

We do not seek to change names, but to elevate and ennoble ideas and principles. We are addressing men who call themselves Christian, and we would show them what is true Christianity; that it is a divine life, not a theological theory; love to God, proved by love to man, not devotion to a sect. There is something in a name. As good John Wesley "would not give the devil all the good tunes," so I would not give him all the good names. In this glorious name—Christian—are enfolded all that we have conceived of Goodness, of Justice, of Love. Shall we weaken the force of our appeal by circumlocution, when in a single word we can hurl it like a bullet into men's hearts? Were I speaking to Mohammedans, and could find that the Koran taught my principles, I would not hesitate to claim its authority. As Paul preached the "unknown God" at Athens, so we preach to the American People the living Christianity that they "ignorantly worship"—that truth in which they "live and move, and have their being." If we refuse the name of Christian, to the mass of the people, it will be as a renunciation of Christianity—an acknowledgment that the name does not belong to our cause, and we shall thus misrepresent the cause we love. We therefore claim it, in its high, liberal, practical meaning.

Mr. McKim sustained the same view at some length, and with great force and clearness. He also remarked that it was a mistake to imply that this Society held any views of the atonement, or any other theological question at variance with others. The Society is composed of every shade of theological opinion, from the extreme orthodox to the extreme heterodox, all uniting for a common object and upon common principles.

Mr. Mott thought that we should permit no theological discussions to come in among us; but if any speaker incidentally disclosed his peculiar opinions, it should be suffered to pass without being made a topic of discussion.

Mrs. Tyndale remarked that by asserting our cause principles and character. When men speak of the Copernican system of Astronomy, they do not claim that Copernicus arranged thus the heavenly bodies; only that he was the great teacher of its truths. So we mean, in claiming the Christian name for the eternal principles on which we stand, not that Jesus originated, but revealed and taught those truths.

The discussion was further continued by B. R. Plumly, who also replied to Mr. Purvis' allusions to Kossuth, defending his course in America, and claiming for him that he had, in that visit, done a greater Anti-Slavery work than any other man; that he was a greater man than Garrison, though some of Mr. Garrison's ideas were greater than Kossuth's, and that he had no equal in history from Cincinnatus to Washington, and from Washington to this day.

Mr Purvis replied in a speech of real eloquence and power, which no sketch can do justice to. He had admired Kossuth, as much as any man, until Kossuth proved recreant to his principles and to humanity; until he denied his sympathy to the oppressed in our land, while seeking our sympathy for the oppressed in his. Mr. P. reviewed the course of Kossuth in this country—quoting his speeches to the coloured people and to the slaveholders—and pronounced it servile, sycophantic and hypocritical. He closed with a thrilling and eloquent tribute to Mr. Garrison; and then the Convention adjourned to 11 A. M. to-morrow

FRIDAY MORNING.

The Convention met, and Rev. Henry Grew was called to the chair.

C. M. Burleigh offered the 4th resolution, and the following, which were accepted.

8. Resolved, That this Convention commends the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, not only to all Abolitionists, but to all friends of free discussion, and pure morality, and also to all persons who desire an ably conducted, liberal and independent newspaper, as worthy of their cordial support, and that we urge them to active efforts to increase its circulation.

After some further discussion, the 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th resolutions were again read and unanimously passed.

J. M. McKim offered the 5th resolution, which, after discussion and amendments, was unanimously adopted.

The 8th resolution, upon the *Freeman*, was read and supported by C. M. Burleigh and J. M. McKim, and passed unanimously.

The resolution on free produce was taken up and ably sustained by the mover and Mrs. Mott, and opposed by B. R. Plumly and Mr. McKim as impracticable. Objection being made by Mr. McKim, to its claim that the purchase of slave products was the foundation of Slavery, C. M. Burleigh suggested that, instead of "*the foundation*," it be made to read "One of the main supports" of Slavery. This amendment was accepted, but there being no time to discuss the resolution, it was laid on the table.

Mrs. Mott introduced a resolution against the purchase of slaves, which, after a slight verbal amendment, was unanimously adopted as follows:

9. Resolved, That the increasing application for means to purchase slaves from their claimants should receive no countenance or aid from Abolitionists, nor from the community generally; such purchase being—if not an indirect acknowledgment of the right of property in man—an unwise appropriation of funds, which are so much needed to accomplish our great work—the overthrow of the slave system and the emancipation of every slave.

Dr. Elder, being present, was invited to speak, but, as the hour of adjournment had arrived, he declined, and the Convention adjourned without day.

C. M. BURLEIGH, *Secretary*.

SMALL POTATOES.—No doubt farmers wonder what we want with so many *small potatoes* in the city, and that they can find sale for such as they used to feed the pigs, at six shillings per barrel—about half-price of good ones. We will tell them. They are bought by the bakers, and after being washed clean, are boiled or steamed, then mashed and mixed with water and passed through a seive, leaving the skins behind, and mixed with flour and baked into "warranted pure Genesee flour bread." Very good bread it is too, notwithstanding one-third of the superfine flour is made of cheap potatoes. We are not informed whether the stale loaves, after being roasted and ground, are sold as pure coffee or not. Our impression is it is sold as *mixed*—say one-fourth. —*N. Y. Agriculist.*

IT was generally expected that Theodore Parker would lecture before the Lyceum on Wednesday evening, last week. The evening before, word was received by telegraph that Mr. Parker was sick, and the Committee who have charge of such matters engaged Mr. Alfred Bunn, the inimitable, jovial Englishman, and notice was given in *The Mirror*, which was issued a couple of hours before the lecture, accordingly. Many did not see it, and the City Hall was crowded, some expecting to hear Mr. Parker. Bunn was for many years manager of the "Old Drury" Theatre, and talked principally about that, Shakspeare and stage actors. After the lecture, as the audience were passing out, talking and laughing about Bunn, one man was heard to exclaim: "Outrageous! just as I expected from a man who broke down a London theatre and then came to Boston and turned *minister*! Theodore Parker! I don't see what they want to get such a man for! Free Soiler and humbug, no heart and no feeling—a perfect imposter."—*Manchester Daily Mirror.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1852.

THE NEAR FUTURE.

IT is the felicity of the Abolitionists that there can be no such thing as an uninteresting or uninstructive event, or concurrence of events, to them. Everything is full either of prophecy or of fulfilment. This is, indeed, true of all men. Every moment is "the meeting of two Eternities" to every creature. But the Abolitionist knows and feels it, because he is ever on the outlook to mark the signs of the time, to inquire "what of the night?" and to wait for the coming of the inevitable dayspring. And he sees clearer than other men, for he looks with unselfish eyes, and hopes for the coming dawn, not because it is to bring a blessing to himself, but to others. Therefore he is not so apt to be deceived by lying prophets, or by false ones, as they who are made blind and deaf by the eagerness of self-interest. He has always heretotore seen more clearly into the future of Slavery than the seers of the pulpit or of the market-place. History has had much ado to overtake his predictions. She will never be able to outstrip them, till the goal of Emancipation is reached. For he has been bred in his School of Prophecy. He knows the subtle and treacherous nature of Slavery. He knows that Evil must needs prevail in any confederacy with Good. But he knows, too, that whenever Good and Evil are confronted in actual conflict, as they must needs one day be, there can be no question as to the side on which the Lord and Victory will be found.

It is an interesting point of History at which we now stand. The Slave Power is triumphant as it was never before, and its insolence is com mensurate with its triumph. Its innate sagacity, made more acute by long experience, taught it how to compel the homage of both the parties into which the country is politically divided. Each, anxious that the preponderating weight which had turned the trembling balance so often when candidate was weighed against candidate, should be thrown into its scale, had humbled itself even beyond the measure of former humiliation. Every prominent public man having any chance of success hastened to outrun, even, the demands of the Slave Power, and thus established a propagandist policy, fortified by a Draconic code, such as it had never entered into the hearts of earlier Slavocrats to conceive of. And, then, scornfully passing by all these supplicants for its favour, the Slave Power touches with the sceptre one of whose loyalty it needed no protestations to be convinced, and sets him over all its house. Cass, Buchanan, Douglass, Marcy, Dickinson were all passed by. Of Webster it did not even condescend to recognise the existence. Even Scott, though he outstripped the lightning in his abasement, could hardly obtain the chance of the defeat from which it scarcely attempted to defend him. It accepted the silence of General Pierce as a sacrifice of a sweeter savour than all their wordy liturgy.

Always before this year, one of the parties, at least in the North, made some decent pretension of hostility to Slave Aggrandizement. It was part of its political capital to assume this virtue, if it had it not, and with it to set up in business, trading politicians who were to watch the market and inveigle customers. But, this year, the Whigs, under the lead or by the compulsion of [illegible] avowed these old professions on which they had stamped their image and superscription, they called in the issues and nailed them to the counter as base and counterfeit. In their place they drew bills of credit on the South, acknowledging, virtually, that Slavery and what represented it was the only legal political tender in these United States of America. Even the idolatry of the Almighty Dollar seemed to be merged for the time in the enthusiasm of this new religion. But it was in seeming only, for the devotees of the new Faith saw in it but a republication and a reinforcement of the old. Terms were defined anew. Patriotism became a cheerful helping of one hundred and thirteen thousand slaveholders to make nearly four millions of as good men as they work for them for nothing. Public Duty was discovered to mean catching men striving to reinvest themselves with their humanity by flight, and replunging them into servitude and barbarism. Nationalism is admitted to be a joyful submission of the whole country to the worst and weakest part; while Sectionalism is as unquestionably the desire of restraining Slavery within its own place and not acknowledging its universal dominion. Christianity consists in helping to deny the Bible and the knowledge of itself to every sixth American; and Republicanism in the implicit submission of twenty-three million nine hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants to the will and pleasure of some seventy-five thousand, (making a very moderate deduction for *women* and *minors*, holding slaves in their own right,) *voting* oligarchs, holding their power in virtue of their ownership of human flesh and blood.

Now both parties, consisting of the vast majority of the Nation, are at one in these things. What is to come of it? The Slave Power, thus reinforced by its eager allies of both parties, can do what it pleases. What will it please to do? It can proceed to take possession of Cuba and Hayti, or to take measures for their reception within the Area of Freedom. Whether it will do or attempt this, depends in no degree on the general wish of the country or the true interests of the Nation. It having been conceded on all hands, excepting an insignificant and fanatical minority of protestants, that the preservation, comfort and extension of Slavery is the only National policy, any incidental interference with the subordinate interests of the Free States which the carrying out of that policy demands, neither will, nor should, be allowed to stand in its way. The only question will be, is this addition to our present Slave territory for the advantage of the same, or not? Is it advisable to risk adding a distant Island, like Cuba, with a population in which the blacks largely preponderate, to the domain of Republican Slavery? Should the Spanish Government, as a measure of defence, proclaim Freedom to all the inhabitants thereof, would it not be a difficult thing to reduce the blacks to their natural condition again? Would not an insurgent island looking across the Gulf of Mexico be of evil ensample to our own happy and contented peasantry? Would it be worth our while to engage in a conflict with Hayti, from which France, in the pride of her strength and glory, recoiled in defeat? Might not a not impossible, however, impertinent interference on the part of England and France disturb the Present of the Cotton Trade to a degree not likely to be recompensed by its increase in the possible Future? These, and such as these, are the considerations which must decide the questions. We at the North have nothing to do with them, except to find the men and money necessary for enforcing the decisions of the only competent authority. For these we wait in humble patience and submission.

So much for the Future of our Foreign Affairs. Our Domestic Policy is sure to be moulded by the same master hands. The right of publishing this Journal, of holding Public Meetings, of agitating the question of Slavery in any way, lies at the door of that mercy. Both parties have resolved and re-resolved that the Slavery agitation must cease. Are they going to reduce these resolutions into action? It is for the slaveholders to say. There is nothing to prevent the passage of a new Sedition Law, making the use of spoken or written language, calculated to bring the Constitution, Government and Laws of the Union into contempt, punishable by fine and imprisonment. Just as good a case might be made out for such an one as was furnished for John Adams's. Doctor Cooper, Matthew Lyon, and others, were punished under that Law, for evil speaking of authorities, during Federal Rule. And under Jefferson himself, Joseph Dennie, of the Portfolio, narrowly escaped correction for an abstract Dissertation on Democracy, illustrated from Ancient History, without allusion to America! If the Slaveholders demand this sacrifice of Free Speech and a Free Press, we do not see how it can be refused by the new Coalition of Whigs and Democrats, pledged to the Salvation of the Union. There is not a United States Court, and we fear not a State one, that would not sustain such laws as Constitutional. And under the new doctrine of Juries, there could be little difficulty in proving convictions. It is merely a question of Slaveholding expediency; and if this policy be not adopted, it will be only because they are too wise in their generation to endeavour to extinguish a fire by smothering it with fuel.—E. Q.

THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA ON THE LEMMON CASE.

THE Governor of Virginia, in accordance with the promise made in his Annual Message, has sent to the Legislature of that State a communication relative to the discharge, under the laws of New York, of the slaves of the Lemmons. He does not, it seems, consider it exactly a *casus belli*, but merely that it is one of disunion. That it was this, of course, everybody knew beforehand, so that so far His Excellency sheds no new light upon the subject. We cannot, unhappily, boast of any influence with the civil authorities of the slave States; but if we could, our first exercise of it would be to urge them to change the tone of their public communication on this point. It would be refreshing to hear of anything that did *not* threaten "the existing relations of the sister States," and we should recommend them to point out an exception if one should ever happen to occur.

On other points, however, a want of originality can not be imputed to the Governor of Virginia. If there is any fixed principle of law, it has hitherto been considered unquestionable that Slavery is a local institution, and exists only by statute law; and that by the common law every human being is held to be free. Such is the doctrine laid down by Judge Paine in his decision in the Lemmon case. But Governor Johnson does not agree with him. He thinks it was "contrary to the spirit of all law" to pronounce these persons free here who were held in Virginia as chattel slaves. The best answer the Legislature could make him would be a copy of Blackstone's Commentaries.

But Judge Paine did not rely solely upon the Common Law to sustain his decision. He had for his guidance an express statute of this State which settled the question for him whether a slaveholder could bring his slaves here and retain them in that condition. The point is one not touched by the Constitution, and the Judge had to decide the case according to general principles and the law of the State; and he did so decide it. The Virginian Governor would have had him decide according to the "comity between the several States," by which Virginian law should be held paramount in New York to our own statutes. Perhaps this state of things which the Governor thinks so essential to the existing relations between the sister States may yet come, but happily it has not yet.

The communication of Governor Johnston we give below with the letter of Mr. Lapaugh appended to it. It is a proper tail to such a kite. The Legislature referred the subject to the Judiciary Committee, and we are anxious to see what they will make of it.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Dec. 17, 1852.

To the General Assembly of Virginia—

GENTLEMEN: In a late communication I had the honour to address your body, I alluded to a recent decision of a judge in the State of New York, by which Jonathan Lemmon, a citizen of Virginia, had been deprived of his slaves. I stated that steps had been taken to procure an official copy of the record, and that when received I would communicate it for such action as your wisdom may dictate.

I have recently received that record, and herewith submit it for your consideration.

It will be seen that Lemmon and his wife, with eight slaves belonging to her, were emigrating from Virginia to Texas. On their passage they passed through the port of New York, and were there compelled by necessity to land with their slaves, without remaining, or intending to remain, longer than necessary, and with no intention at any time of bringing their slaves into that State to remain or reside, or for any purpose whatever, except in passing from Virginia to Texas. Being so in transit, or on their passage, a writ of *habeas corpus* was applied for by a third person, and issued by one of the judges of New York, by which they were compelled to bring their slaves before him; and he, on the facts above stated, declared the slaves free, and set them at liberty.

The record contains the judge's opinion at length, in which I see nothing to change the opinion I heretofore expressed upon this subject. It will not be expected that I should enter into a legal investigation of his reasoning and conclusion, nor is it necessary in order to secure for it from your body that enlightened consideration which its importance demands. It is in conflict with the opinions and decisions of other distinguished jurists, without, I believe, a single precedent to sustain it. In importance it is of the first magnitude, and in spirit it is without its parallel. If sustained, it will not only destroy that comity which should ever subsist between the several States composing this confederacy, but must seriously affect the value of slave property wherever found in the same.

I have also received, and herewith submit, a communication from Henry D. Lapaugh, Esq., of the city of New York, from which you will perceive that the proceedings which took place before Judge Paine have been removed by *certiorari* into the Supreme Court of the State, to be by that court reviewed.

But I am informed that, by the voluntary contributions of a portion of the good people of that city, Lemmon and his wife have been fully reimbursed the value of their slaves, and have stipulated that, in case Judge Paine's decision is reversed, the slaves shall have their freedom. This withdraws from those immediately concerned, all personal interest in the further prosecution of the appeal. But it by no means diminishes the extent to which the decision affects the rights and interests of our citizens at large. I deem the subject of sufficient public importance to require and receive the attention of the government of this commonwealth, and recommend that, for the present, provision shall be made by the General Assembly for the efficient prosecution of the appeal already taken, and of such other judicial proceedings as may be found necessary and proper for a satisfactory adjudication of the important questions in this case.

I cannot believe that even by the Supreme Court of the State of New York, a decision will be sustained that is so contrary to the spirits of all law—so opposed to the establishment of principles which regulate intercourse even between foreign nations—so much at war with the relations which should subsist between the sister States of this Union, and, as I think, with the spirit, if not the letter, of the constitution itself.

But, if in this I am mistaken—if the statute of New York has been rightfully expounded by the learned Judge, and is not in conflict with the constitution of the United States—it is proper that Virginia should know it. The same sovereign power by which New York enacts her laws and gives them force within her limits, pertains to Virginia within hers; and to them she will then have to look for redress. Very respectfully,

JOSEPH JOHNSON.

49 Wall st., NEW YORK, Dec. 4th, 1852.

Hon. Joseph Johnson, Governor of Virginia:

DEAR SIR: Geo. H. E. Lynch, Esq., of this city, having called on me for the purpose, I furnished him with the papers and information necessary to enable him to comply with the letter written to him under your official direction, requesting a certified copy of the record and proceedings in the case of Mr. Lemmon's slaves recently discharged by Mr. Justice Paine, of the Supreme Court of this city.

Keenly alive, as I am aware you must be, to whatever affects the interest of your State, or the rights of its citizens, I have thought proper, under the circumstances, likewise to inform you that I have caused all the proceedings in the case named to be removed by certiorari to the Supreme Court of our State, in order that the decision of Mr. Justice Paine may be reviewed by the learned Judges composing this tribunal.

I am your Excellency's obedient servant,

HENRY D. LAPAUGH.

LAW IN VIRGINIA.—In another column will be found the message of the Governor of Virginia to her Legislature, on the recent decision here in the Lemmon case. From this message we learn what is *not* considered good law in that ancient Commonwealth; and, as a consequence, a natural curiosity will be felt to know what *is* good law there. As an answer to this question we subjoin a few items from the police reports in two late numbers of Richmond papers—*The Republican and The Dispatch*. First, from *The Republican*:

DISCHARGED.—Jordan Goode, slave to Haxall & Brother, was caged on Sunday night for not having his pass indorsed. Yesterday the Mayor let him off, but for the next offence won't he catch it!

TOUCHED LIGHTLY.—Isaac Allen, a gentleman of colour, in the service of Messrs. Goode & Allen, received a portion of his holiday suit yesterday, by order of the Mayor, for failing to have his pass indorsed and running from the watchmen.

WARMING.—Felix Harwood, slave to George Turner, was caught by the watch when stealing wood, on Sunday night last, and caged. The Court yesterday ordered that his system should be heated by additional *dressing*. A striped jacket must have felt fine yesterday, as cold as the wind blowed.

HOUSED.—Joe Shieway says he is a free negro, but as he is without a register to prove that fact, and no one feels disposed to take his word for it, the Mayor directed his delivery into the kind keeping of the old Commodore.

BIG NAME.—Thomas Jefferson!—what a big name for a negro—was brought before the Mayor yesterday and ordered five stripes for firing pop-crackers in Cary-st on Saturday evening last.

ALL RIGHT.—George Waller, a free negro, had no free papers when arrested. Proved his freedom and missed the jug by a feet adzackly.

The record had been more complete if the reporter had stated precisely how many stripes go to a "holiday suit," but that, no doubt, is well understood in Virginia. Next we copy from *The Dispatch*:

A negro boy named THOMAS, slave to Mayo & Atkinson, was arrested Saturday evening last with an irregular pass, and on yesterday ordered five lashes.

JAMES ALLEN, slave to Allen & Gordon, was caught with his sign hanging out in the same manner, contrary to law, and was ordered ten lashes.

ROBERT, slave to R. A. Mills, and EDMUND, slave to Henry Cornell, on yesterday were punished by the Mayor, for participating in an unlawful assemblage. Robert received 20 lashes, and Edmund, being a small boy, 10.

NED ELLIS, arrested out of track Sunday, on yesterday was discharged by the Mayor with an admonition.

PETER FOCE, slave to T. C. Eppes, was arrested with an irregular pass, Sunday night, and discharged yesterday with an admonition.

A delicate free negro named JOHN SPAULDING, was on yesterday committed in default of a register.

A very black and suspicious negro named WILLIAM BETHELL, was arrested on Sunday evening while engaged in the interesting game of leap frog without any pass. On yesterday, in consideration of his activity and general good behaviour, the Mayor discharged him.

CHARLES JOHNSON, slave to A. W. Morton, on yesterday received 10 lashes for unlawful conduct.

FELIX HARWOOD, slave to George Turner, not being able to control his pilfering propensities, on Sunday night condescended to an act of petty larceny, in stealing a quantity of wood. The Mayor supposing that the fire kindled from the wood was scarcely sufficient to warm even Harwood's nose, ordered him a hot striping of 39 lashes.

A slave named JORDON GORDON, slave to Haxall & Brother, was arrested Sunday evening in default of a correct pass. Proving, yesterday, that he acted under authority of his employers, he was discharged.

STATUE OF DANIEL WEBSTER.—The New England Society of New York, at its annual meeting on the 22d instant, passed the following Resolutions. The cost of such a statue as that proposed, it was stated, would be about $15,000. Perhaps the suspicion that it would be difficult to raise more than that sum precluded any proposition for aid to discharge the mortgages on Mr. Webster's farms; at any rate it was not made, however acceptable it would have been to those persons in Boston who have taken upon themselves that duty. But $15,000 worth of brass moulded into the effigy of Daniel Webster is as much as should be expected of the Sons of the Pilgrims in this city. The Resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, That a subscription be opened, under the auspices and sanction of the New England Society of the City of New York, to raise a fund from the contributions of the citizens of New York, of New England origin, for the purpose of procuring a bronze statue of Daniel Webster, to be presented to the City of New York, to the end that it may stand in some public position, as a perpetual monument of his greatness and his fame.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President of the Society, to take all proper measures for the accomplishment of the object of the foregoing resolutions.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Col. J. L. Manning, just elected Governor of South Carolina roars as gently as a sucking dove, in his inaugural address, on States' Rights and Federal relations. He concludes it as follows:

"I am about to take the oath prescribed by law, to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of this State, and of the United States. I shall endeavour faithfully to discharge my obligations to both; not less for the respect and veneration in which I hold them, than that the future happiness and prosperity of the country depend upon their maintenance and inviolability. We yet have high duties to perform, touching the welfare of the South, by giving fresh vitality and a more effective organization to those well tried principles of State Rights, to which this Commonwealth, has been so long and ardently attached. But should it happen, however, in the Providence of God, that, during the term of my office, obligations to one shall become incompatible with the support of the other, *then*, both my inclination and duty as a State Rights Republican, will be to sustain the Constitution and the laws of this Commonwealth.

"The Government of the United States has recently undergone trials of its strength to which it has never before been subjected, and which have threatened to sever, from time to time, the bonds which unite its various parts in a Federative compact. But the unwillingness of the people to endanger a Government under which they have enjoyed so much happiness, and attained such prosperity, has induced them to rebuke to a certain extent the tendencies to a reckless fanaticism, and a total disregard of the guarrantees of the Constitution. As if to carry these views into effect, they have, by an unexampled majority, given the administration of the Federal Government into the hands of those who stand pledged before the country to sustain all these guarantees, and the right of each section of the Confederacy.

"But whilst this State has given its support, with remarkable unanimity, to the candidates of the Democratic party for the highest honours of the American Republic, and listened to the pledges which that party has given to protect the Southern portion of the Confederacy in the enjoyment of all its rights, to which our State has been so long and so ardently attached—principles by which the triumph was achieved over the doctrines of consolidation, and which mark the administration of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, as the halcyon days of the Republic, it is only by the revival of these principles and her active influence in the control of party organization, that security can be given to individual liberty, through the separate energies of distinct government, the general interests preserved from the injustice of sectional legislation, and our domestic concerns fortified against invasions of federal authority."

The death, within a few years, of two Presidents, while in office, has so impressed it upon the minds of the people that even the Chief Magistrate of this Republic is mortal, that the illness of Mr. King, the Vice President elect, at Washington, has excited not only the apprehension that he would die, but that Gen. Pierce would soon follow him. The frogs consequently have been tormenting themselves with speculating as to what would become of us without either King or President, and are at their wit's end—no great distance—with apprehension. The *Tribune*, however, has come to their relief, and explained that the Constitution provides that on the death of the President, the Vice President shall fill his place; and that on the death of both, Congress shall appoint one of its own officers to discharge the functions of President. Acting under this power, Congress did, in 1792, enact that in the event of the demise of both President and Vice President, a new election for these Officers should be held in the following December, and that the President and Vice President then elected should hold their offices for four years from the 4th of March next ensuing. It further provided that in the interim between the death of one President and the election of another, the President of the Senate *pro tempore* shall serve as President; and in case of a vacancy in that office, that the functions of the Chief Magistrate shall devolve upon the Speaker of the House. Beyond this, it adds, no provision is made. If anything more is necessary, should it not be that after President, and Vice President, President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House, and Senate and House also, are all gone, that anybody might be President who had a mind to be? We presume, being one of lieges, that we commit no treason in saying that our chance of a good Government, under such an arrangement, would be quite as fair as it is now

CAPTURE OF SLAVES.—The 'Empire City' at New Orleans, from Cuba, reports that the British brig Vesta arrived at Havana, on the 19th inst., with the notorious slave schooner Venus, and two other slavers, as prizes. The arrival had created a good deal of excitement in that city.

An arrival at Boston from Port Praya also reports that the schooner Advance, of New Orleans, had been seized there by Commodore Gregory, of the American Squadron, on suspicion of being a slaver, but, having received notice from the authorities that they would not permit a vessel to be taken in that, a neutral, port without authority, he released the vessel

principle.' He represented the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society as embracing the Christian Abolitionists of the United States: and the American Anti-Slavery Society, from which it had separated, as composed chiefly of persons who were infidel in their sentiments, opposed to all that is deemed Christian, and unfruitful to the cause of the slave; making it subsidiary to the promotion of their infidel views, and introducing for discussion on the Anti-Slavery platform the question of 'Woman's Rights,' 'anti-Sabbath,' 'no human government,' and such like.

"Fully relying on this information, we carefully avoided any intercourse with the members of the American Anti Slavery Society; and, at the recommendation of Captain Stuart, entered into correspondence with Miss Martha V. Ball, of Boston, Secretary of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, requesting to be informed of any way in which we could aid the cause we had so much at heart. It was proposed that we should contribute to a Bazaar, which was to be held in Boston for the benefit of the Massachusetts Abolition Society. We did so for two successive years, and received in acknowledgment the Second Annual Report of that Society. After a time, however, we found that the Bazaar was discontinued; in consequence, as we understood, of the death of its chief manager;* and no succeeding report of the Massachusetts Abolition Society was sent to Bristol. The *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* was taken in by the Society, and some other Anti-Slavery papers were recommended to us, but these were discontinued one after another. Occasionally letters from Rev. Nathaniel Colver, Mr. Lewis Tappan, and Rev. Joshua Leavitt, were forwarded for our perusal from other Anti-Slavery Societies. But gradually all these sources of information ceased, and we could not learn that much effort was being made in America on behalf of emancipation, or that any way existed for us to aid in promoting it.

"The *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* was regularly circulated amongst our members; but it sailed to keep alive our interest, or to point out modes of action.

"We made repeated applications to the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for instructions as to what we in Bristol could do to promote the cause; but the suggestions were so vague and unsatisfactory that, with the exception of occasionally contributing to the support of schools and other institutions for the emancipated negroes and free coloured people (which objects, though philanthropic, are not *Anti-Slavery*), we could find no occupation beyond that of collecting funds for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This, indeed, we were told by the Secretary of that Society, was the most useful Anti-Slavery work in which we could engage; and the right to exercise an independent control over our funds was disputed." *Report*, pp. 6, 7.

We shall not stop to comment upon the deceptive statements of Capt. Charles Stewart, either as to the origin of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or the causes of the secession in May, 1840. Those matters, we presume, are well understood by all the readers of the *Standard*; nor by them alone.

The report next speaks of the visit of Messrs. Garrison and Douglass to Bristol, in 1846, and of its effect in re-kindling dormant Anti-Slavery interest there, in diffusing more widely than before a knowledge of what was doing in America for the Anti-Slavery cause, and in opening to view ways and methods of Anti-Slavery efforts which had before been strenuously concealed from them by those to whom they looked for information. They then proceed to detail the successive steps by which their eyes became opened to the narrow, bigoted, and unjust policy of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, as shown in its treatment of every American who visited England as a member or friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society, including even the fugitives William W. Brown, Wm. and Ellen Craft, and others; and as shown in a similar course of neglect and proscription towards English Abolitionists who have dared to express any sympathy with said Society. And they show how, being themselves only seekers for truth and for the best way of aiding the Anti-Slavery cause, they became gradually divested of their prejudices against the American Anti-Slavery Society, and were led to a cordial interest in its operations and objects, and respect for its leading members, both men and women.

In illustration of the course pursued by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society towards those known to sympathize with the American Anti-Slavery Society, the Report states, on page 10, that—

"Although Mr. Brown [William W.] has been for eight years arousing attention to the sinfulness of slaveholding, has delivered upwards of four hundred lectures on the subject in this country [Great Britain], and addressed not fewer than 200,000 persons; and although accounts of most of his meetings have been published in the United States, his name has never come before the readers of the *Reporter* [the organ of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society]; while attempts have been repeatedly made to excite prejudice against him, through the private circulation of unfounded statements, which have impeded his usefulness in the cause of his oppressed brethren."

The case of William and Ellen Craft is then particularly noticed and commended to the attention of the English public. The almost entire silence of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* concerning this interesting pair is referred to, as illustrative of the temper and policy of that journal.

On the 15th February, 1851, the Society (whose Report we are considering) had become "so thoroughly roused" that, after a full and minute examination of the whole question, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"That this Society, sympathizing in the aims and efforts of the American Anti-Slavery Society, resolves to co-operate with it, by sending a contribution to the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, to be held in Boston, Massachusetts, next December.

"That, for the sake of being more fully informed respecting all Anti-Slavery movements in America, this committee subscribe for a copy of the *Anti Slavery Standard* and of the *North Star*, to be circulated among its members."

At this time came the Fugitive Slave Law, by which the Congress of 1850 and the administration of Millard Fillmore have rendered themselves eternally infamous. The London *Morning Advertiser*, the *British Banner*, the *Standard of Freedom*, and many other British journals, called the attention especially of the religious public to this disgraceful edict, and, in a particular manner, to the fact that a very large number of the leading American clergy and churches had either openly excused and justified that law, or had refused to take a stand in opposition to it. These journals advised a public and decisive demonstration of British feeling against these recreant American priests during the then approaching Spring anniversaries in London. All this time the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society showed no signs of seconding these suggestions, and appeared solicitously to avoid anything like censure of the guilty American ministers. What it, in its central position and with its much greater resources, ought to have done, but did not, the Society of Bristol and Clifton women, relying upon the justice and impelled by the crying necessity of their cause, resolved to undertake. They determined to lose no time in laying these terrible facts before every religious body in Great Britain whom they could reach. At a meeting of the Committee, held March 27, 1851, the following preamble and resolution were adopted unanimously:

"The members of the Society, having contemplated with pain and deep regret the course of the clergy in the United States, which (with a few honourable exceptions) affords more or less support to the system of Slavery; and having been especially grieved by the low views of Christian duty recently proclaimed by ministers in the free States, in regard to the Fugitive Slave Bill,

"Resolved, That such ministers of this city as may be about to attend annual conferences in London, during the month of May, be respectfully but earnestly solicited to deliberate with their brethren, on the expediency of adopting some line of conduct to prevent their pulpits being occupied by any clergymen from the United States, visiting England at the approaching Exhibition, who have not borne testimony to the unrighteous character of the Fugitive Slave Bill; and further, to take into consideration the desirableness of urging those religious Societies in America, with whom they sympathize in doctrine and discipline, not to depute any ministers to this country upon religious or philanthropic missions who have not publicly manifested their disapprobation of this Law, which Judge Jay declares to be "as palpable a violation of the Constitution, as it certainly is of the principles of justice, the rights of humanity, and the religion of Jesus Christ."

These resolutions, together with a collection of extracts from recent American sermons, denominated "Clerical Teachings on Slavery," were sent to thirty-two dissenting ministers in Bristol. This was the sowing of good seed in various sorts of soil; but some was good ground, and excellent fruit resulted, in various ways, such as resolutions of religious associations and other religious bodies, and the renewed testimonies of various influential religious journals.

During this season of action, William and Ellen Craft visited Bristol at the invitation of this Society, and held crowded meetings, much to the furtherance of the truth.

The Society continued their labours, and sent copies of their preamble and resolution (quoted above) to fifty-three Anti-Slavery associations, with an offer to supply, also, to all, copies of the "Clerical Teachings on Slavery." Societies in "Birmingham, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Manchester, Chelmsford, Liverpool, and Kendal, promptly responded to the call; and some of these reprinted the "Clerical Teachings," and passed resolutions of their own; others were supplied from Bristol." Within a very brief time, they also forwarded the resolutions of their Society, &c., to twenty-four Baptist, sixty-four Congregational, two Missionary associations; and sent Anti-Slavery documents to 123 "influential ministers among the Independent, Baptist, Presbyterian, Unitarian, Free Church, and other denominations.

These efforts, also, were crowned with the most gratifying success. Religious bodies of every denomination, and in every part of the Kingdom, took action upon the subject. The resolution passed at the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union in London, May 16, 1851, is so important that, notwithstanding its length, we should not be excusable in omitting it:

Resolved, "That this Assembly, while most anxious to reciprocate sentiments of fraternal regard and unity towards the pastors and churches of the same faith and order as those in connection with this Union, in the United States of America—more especially towards the descendants of the venerated Pilgrim Fathers in the New England States—deem it their duty to renew their solemn and indignant protest against Slavery as it now exists among the American Churches; and, in particular, to express their great surprise and deep sorrow at the conduct of those ministers of various denominations who have given either direct countenance or tacit support to the Fugitive Slave Law, recently passed by the American legislature; inasmuch as they cannot but regard that wicked and accursed statute as being, in the language of the eminent patriot and philanthropist, Judge Jay, 'a palpable violation of the principles of justice, the rights of humanity, and the religion of Jesus Christ'; a law to which no one who would obey God rather than man can consistently or righteously submit. And this Assembly would earnestly pray that the Divine Head of the Church, in whom there is neither bond nor free, would open the eyes of all Christian ministers and churches in the United States to the aggravated guilt of participating in the sin of man-stealing, or holding their brethren in unjust and cruel bondage—a sin which, in the opinion of this Assembly, raises an insuperable barrier to church-fellowship with them, on the part of all who, in this particular, reverence the authority of God, and respect the inalienable rights of their fellow-men."

There is, we must observe, a very material defect in this resolution, viz., the admission that they who are *guilty* of the *sin* of *man-stealing*, and who are holding their *brethren* in unjust and cruel *bondage*, are CHRISTIAN ministers and churches! While the British Abolitionists do this, their shafts will fall comparatively pointless, and their otherwise faithful rebukes fail of accomplishing the end they desire and propose. The stand which this resolution takes, as to church fellowship, is the true one—the position of common sense, of honesty, and of genuine charity—not that mawkish charity which is afraid to tell a fellow-being of his offences against God and man, and dares not separate from his guilty partnership.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, ashamed or afraid to be longer silent, at length issued a Circular, dated April 21st, but which does not appear to have been printed until the first of May, two months and a half after the Bristol and Clifton Society had engaged in the work of arousing the religious feeling of the land. Will it be believed that, in the Annual Report of the said Society, the credit is taken to themselves for the Anti-Slavery utterances and efforts of the various religious bodies (all of which had been stimulated, and most of which had actually taken place, before the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society moved a finger), and that not a single reference is made to the indefatigable labours of the Bristol and Clifton Society! They were not ignorant of these labours, for the officers of the Bristol Society wrote (March 28th) to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and asked for a complete list of the Anti-Slavery associations in connection with it, for the purpose of forwarding to them copies of its proceedings, &c. This list was not supplied, though the letter was acknowledged which contained the request.

Through many succeeding pages of the Report before us, the malignant attitude of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society towards the American Anti-Slavery Society is still further exposed, as in the case of the Glasgow tract, answered by Mrs. Maria W. Chapman, of Boston (then, as now, in Europe), and by Dr. Estlin, of Bristol—in the case of Rev. Josiah Henson—and in the claims set up by and for the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. These claims were of the most extensive kind, and would lead any one, not informed on the subject, to suppose that the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was doing nearly or quite all the Anti-Slavery work done in America. The Bristol Society took great pains to investigate these claims, and ascertain what they were worth, and the following is the conclusion at which they arrived:

"That, with the exception of the New York Vigilance Committee, which is almost synonymous with the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, no Vigilance Committees are in connection with this Society; but that those existing "in various large cities" are, to a great extent, composed of and sustained by the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

"That a large proportion of the members of the Society also encourage the Free Labour movement, and endeavour to abstain from slave produce; and the subject is frequently discussed in the Society's weekly organ.

"That the religious opinions of Mr. Garrison, never having been introduced upon the Anti-Slavery platform, can in no respect compromise the independence of any who act with him. That his influence is such as extensive experience and unwavering fidelity naturally command; and that the fact of his being the founder of the Anti-Slavery Society, and having ever since kept foremost in the right course, leaves other true Abolitionists no alternative but to follow him; that to do otherwise would be to desert the cause; and that these constituted the inevitable 'homage' rendered by his fellow-workers.

"That the American Anti-Slavery Society numbers about ten thousand adherents, and that the half-dozen newspapers spoken of as 'sympathizing with the American Society' are Anti-Slavery papers, supported by members and friends of that Society and its auxiliaries.

"That the forty or fifty papers described as 'advocating the views of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society' are the organs of various religious and political parties, which more or less contribute to the support of Slavery; thus clearly demonstrating that a Society whose 'views' coincided with, and were promulgated by, these parties could not be regarded as a formidable opponent of the 'peculiar institution.'

"That this Society (which, at its origin, bitterly opposed and tried to injure the Society from which it seceded) has not for many years been known to 'act' in an associated capacity; and that nearly all the parties who were instrumental in its formation had abandoned the cause, so that their names were no longer heard of but as connected with some commercial or professional pursuit. For example, that two were now Whig Custom-house officers; one was a spirit-merchant in San Francisco; another, the sub-editor of a religious newspaper; another, an exhibitor of ghosts, and a professing infidel, &c. Another, Mr H. B. Stanton (one of the agents who, in 1840, came to England, alienated sympathy from the American Anti-Slavery Society, and aspersed the character of its President), was now a pro-slavery member of the New York Legislature, and had voted to have Anti-Slavery petitions laid on the table; and that Mr. J. G. Birney, the other delegate, has for years retired from any active participation in the Anti-Slavery welfare.

"That the *Emancipator* paper, which had at first been used by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society as its organ, has been for many years extinct; and that the Society has now neither agents nor periodicals, but that its sole management devolves on Mr. Lewis Tappan, who has, in addition, an extensive private business to attend to." Report, pp. 29–31.

In September, 1851, Rev. Edward Mathews visited Bristol, and, at a public meeting, gave a description of the cruel treatment he had suffered in Kentucky, on account of his Abolition principles. A resolution was passed at this meeting "that the Church which receives slaveholders to her communion, and excludes men for other sins, is not the Church of Christ." Mr. George Thompson was present also, and gave some details of his recent visit to the United States. He showed that the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had little else than a nominal existence, and that the attempt of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to represent the former as *an efficient Anti-Slavery instrumentality* was a fraud, diverting the attention of British Abolitionists from the original and still effective American Anti-Slavery Society, and thus inflicting serious injury on the cause.

At this time, also, Mrs. M. W. Chapman and Miss Caroline Weston visited Bristol. From these ladies, the Society derived much additional information of a most satisfactory nature, and became "fully satisfied that the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society is sacredly guarded from the introduction of extraneous subjects; and that the accusation of mingling these with its Anti-Slavery advocacy is unsubstantiated, and proceeds either from open enemies to the cause or from men who have deserted its ranks from inability to bear the true Anti Slavery cross." p. 32.

After the departure of Mrs. Chapman and her sisters from Bristol, the Society unanimously passed a vote of the warmest sympathy and respect for those ladies, with thanks for the valuable service they had rendered there to the Anti-Slavery cause; and closed with saying, "that, instructed by their words, and animated by their example, we trust, with the Divine blessing, to dedicate ourselves with fresh zeal to the great conflict for freedom; and we hereby renew our offering of sympathy and co-operation with the American Anti-Slavery Society, in their holy work of rescuing their country from the blighting influences which Slavery now casts over all its political, social and religious institutions." p 33.

In November, the Society adopted a formal preamble and eight resolutions, in which they recapitulated and re-affirmed various "grave charges," which had been publicly brought against the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society during the preceding eight months, and concerning which that Society had maintained an obstinate and ominous silence. In view of all these things, they added—

"Wherefore, perceiving that the influence exerted by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has tended to repress energetic action, and withdraw English sympathy and aid from the true Abolitionists of America; and that, by multiplying the obstacles with which these devoted friends of freedom have to contend, it has greviously retarded the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause throughout the world, the members of the BRISTOL AND CLIFTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY feel that this body has forfeited the confidence formerly reposed in it, and that their duty to the slave requires them to dissolve their connexion with it

"And it is hereby resolved:

"That this Society be no longer considered as an auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, but that it constitute an independent Anti-Slavery organization, to be governed by such regulations as shall hereafter be determined upon.

"It is further resolved, That the members of this Society consider it incumbent upon them to direct the attention of all other affiliated associations to the grounds of their separation from the parent Society; and that a copy of the above resolutions, and of the printed documents on the subject already in circulation, be sent to the Secretary of each auxiliary." Report, p. 38.

It would appear that the same causes which had created distrust in Bristol of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had not been without their influence elsewhere. It is stated that, in 1849, there existed *fifty-eight* Societies auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. In their Report for 1851, only *fourteen* associations are named as contributing to their funds.

The services of the London *Morning Advertiser* to the Anti-Slavery cause, and of its editor, Mr. Grant, without whose powerful aid (say these ladies) our efforts to bring truth to light would have proved fruitless—services rendered on a great variety of occasions, and with signal ability, are acknowledged in an appropriate resolution, and unanimous vote of thanks.

Our notice is already so far extended, that we cannot dwell at any length upon the remainder of the Report before us. The further doings of the Society, and particularly their contributions to the Anti-Slavery Bazaar—several cases of public Anti-Slavery action on the part of religious bodies—the reception given to Dr. Dyer, of Philadelphia, a pro-Slavery delegate from the American Sunday School Union to the London anniversaries—and several other topics are alluded to. Special and honourable mention is made of the *American Baptist Free Mission Society*, and of its agent (then in England), Rev. Edward Mathews, who had done not a little to undeceive the British Abolitionists as to the false charges brought against the American Anti-Slavery Society.

We conclude, therefore, with saying, that we consider the best thanks of all American Abolitionists are due to the Bristol and Clifton Society for this able and thorough Report, and for their unwearied labours to expose falsehood, and vindicate truth and right. We see that earnest and intelligent minds have been resolutely at work to disentangle and remove the web of specious sophistry, and (must we not add?) religious cant, which has been for a long time drawn over the cause of American Anti-Slavery in Great Britain. Knowing, as we do, that this age, certainly, has not seen a band of more sincere servants of the Living God, of more true believers in Christianity, or more fearless asserters of the truths and duties it teaches, than are the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and particularly its prominent and leading members—we cannot but rejoice at every successful effort to disabuse the public mind in relation to it, and to present its extraordinary claims upon the sympathy and help of all Christian and humane persons, to the world. With open and avowed pro-Slavery we find it easy to contend. It is when the foul spirit robes himself in the vestments of clerical and church sanctity that the real difficulty begins. The cunning of the adversary is seen in the multitude he deludes. He has deceived many whom we had supposed the very elect. But the eye single to God's truth can detect the demon, even in the shadows of the altar.

* A short time ago, we discovered that this impression was erroneous; but that the lady referred to, instead of being known as an actor in the Anti-Slavery cause, was a regular attendant at the Church of Rev. W. M. Rogers, notorious for his advocacy of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and his opposition to the Abolitionists.

Congressional.

DEBATE ON THE ANNEXATION OF CUBA.

IN the United States Senate on the 23d instant, a debate ensued on a resolution of Mr. Mason calling on the President for certain information relative to Cuba, which, being the opening of the subject on which we shall no doubt hear much during the next two or three years, we copy. Those interested in the Memorial about to be sent from the Women of England to the Women of America, will be gratified to see that one good end to be gained by it is already accomplished in the notice it secures in the United States Senate. Its object is to set people to talking and thinking, and Mr. Cass in doing the former assists that object. What he says is of very little consequence as that must have the weight of his personal and political character; but it is of importance that he should say something, and thus give the influence of his position to continued agitation:

SENATE....WASHINGTON, Dec. 23, 1852

Mr. MASON submitted the following:

Resolved, That the President of the United States communicate to the Senate, if, in his opinion, it is not incompatible with public interests, copies of the official notes received from the ministers of France and England, inviting the Government of the United States to become a party with Great Britain and France to a tripartite Convention, in virtue of which the three powers should severally and collectively disclaim, now and for the future, all intention to obtain possession of the island of Cuba, and should bind themselves to discountenance all attempts to that effect on the part of every power or individual whatever, and of the reply thereto on the part of this Government, referred to in his Annual Message to the two Houses of Congress on the 6th instant.

Mr MASON said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The subject in regard to which this resolution calls for information is brought to our notice in the Annual Message of the President, to both Houses, at the commencement of this session. The President brings to our notice the invitation which was received from the Ministers of England and France. The language of the Message in regard to that I need not read, but I will read the sentence which follows: "This invitation has been respectfully declined, for reasons which it would occupy too much space in this communication to state in detail, but which led me to think that the proposed measure would be of doubtful constitutionality, impolitic and unavailing." So much of the Message which has reference to the subject is purely narrative, giving to Congress the information as to the fact. The residue of the paragraph, however, expresses the judgment of the President upon the subject matter, and I will read it. [He here quoted from the Message the paragraph where the President says the acquisition of Cuba is fraught with evil.]

Mr. President: If any further evidence were necessary to satisfy this country that the eyes of the two great maritime and commercial powers of Europe have been directed with increasing interest to the relation borne by the Continent of North America to the Island of Cuba, it would be furnished by the fact disclosed in the message to which this resolution refers. The relation which the Island of Cuba geographically bears to this country is such that almost ever since we became a nation it has been looked upon with the deepest interest by all our statesmen. The Island of Cuba lies in the gateway of the Gulf of Mexico, and all our statesmen of every political complexion from the foundation of the Government to this day were admonished thereby, that the vigilance of this country must never be relaxed in regard to the political condition of that Island. But there is something more which I apprehend has led these two great European powers to make a proposition which they knew when they made it would be declined. They knew that, sir, because the whole political action of this country would disclaim the acceptance of such an invitation, but they have made it with this knowledge, and we are informed by the President that it has been declined. Sir, the reasons for making it I apprehend are not too deep to be open to the search of those who are conversant with past history. It has been the established policy of this country, made known in the most open, frank and undisguised manner to all the powers of Europe, that while the Island of Cuba remained a province, a dependency of Spain, we would never interfere with it; but that if ever any ambitious or grasping potentate should attempt, either by rapine or by treaty to take the Island of Cuba from the possession of Spain, it would become this country, cost what it might, to interfere and to prevent it. Every country in Europe knows that. What then has led to this invitation, jointly extended by the two great, powerful maritime nations of Europe, France and England, at this time?

Mr. President: I can trace it to but one cause, a belief on the part of those Governments that there is a tendency in the popular mind in the country to take Cuba, and the invitation was intended as an intimidation. I am here free to declare, representing as I do a section of the country I apprehend as deeply interested in the future relations of Cuba to this continent as any other, in my place as a Senator from the South, and upon my responsibility as a statesman of America, that I am content that Cuba shall remain in the possession of Spain unless it can be acquired from her by voluntary cession on her part, or unless the people of Cuba by their own act shall sever the political connection with her European mother and voluntarily propose annexation. Sir, the honour, the dignity, the good name of America for all time to come demands at the hands of the American people, not only that they should not sympathize with, nor encourage, but that they should indignantly frown upon and suppress any attempts by violence in any form to wrest from Spain any portion of her lawful possessions, whether it be stimulated by political ambition, or by a spirit of speculative marauding on the part of those engaged in it.

The policy of this country, as I have said, has been announced to all Europe. Spain, is a weak power, and it is fortunate for us, and for our peaceful relations with the Continent of Europe she is so. Cuba is her property, as fully, exclusively and entirely her property as Oregon or New Mexico is ours; and any attempt, whether made by individuals in violation of the laws of their country, or made by the Government in its politic capacity, to dismember Cuba from Spain, would tarnish forever our national fame. Sir, I know of no safer guarantee for our own national rights and the rights of the States in their sovereign capacity, than a uniform and scrupulous regard for the rights of others.

But, Mr. President, the invitation thus given by those two powers acting jointly, proposing on their part a tripartite Convention of the three Governments to disclaim now and forever hereafter any purpose of acquiring Cuba by any means, imparts a more enlarged meaning thus—France and England believe that the possession of Cuba by the United States would be fraught with consequences injurious to them, and therefore they give us to understand by this form of communication that they are in league to prevent it. Now, sir, treating it thus, I have this to say, we have indicated our policy to let Cuba alone and sacredly to regard the rights of Spain; we know that in the fullness of time the fruit will ripen and fall from the present stem. When that time shall come its political connection with this Continent is inevitable. Interference by other nations may hasten the event, but the combined powers of Europe cannot prevent it.

This, sir, is a full and I think an intelligible reply to any question of European interference with the political condition of Cuba. Sir, who can doubt that the acquisition of Cuba by the United States is a question of time only? purely a question of time! In the progress of empires, in the formation of nations they grow from infancy to youth, and so to manhood. Great and powerful as our country is, it is yet in its youth, and it is of little moment to us whether we acquire Cuba in this generation or in the next, but come it will, just as certainly as that the world revolves on its axis.

Mr. President, I regretted—deeply regretted—to see, just before we were assembled here at the present session, that the President of the United States had thought it proper, upon a general call for the correspondence made by the House, to divulge all communications which had passed between this Government and Spain on the subject of Cuba from its first commencement. I do not mean to question the motives of the President in so doing, but I do question his judgment. Whatever it was intended to effect, one consequence must be the result, the postponement of the acquisition of that island to a more distant period than if the correspondence had not been divulged, and I apprehend that it is not very usual in the diplomatic intercourse of nations to bring from the secret archives where they properly belong, matters that have confidentially passed between two Governments on any question in which others hold themselves to be interested.

The Administration which has published the correspondence is about to go out of office. I shall make no war upon it for what it has done, but I will say that as far as the acquisition of Cuba is involved, it has done little to expedite it by divulging that correspondence, yet the publication may have the less injurious effect for the reason that our Government deals but little in secret diplomacy. The ends and objects we desire to attain should not be oddly or uselessly promulgated, but if they become so, I apprehend the world will find nothing in them at which we have cause to blush. Let them have the information for what it is worth. They all know, not only the deep interest our whole country feels in the acquisition of the island, but they know also that it will inevitably become ours at some day. Let them have the information for what it is worth. It may postpone the acquisition, it cannot prevent it. I tell you, sir, what will expedite the annexation more than anything else—presenting toward the Government of Spain perfect good faith; requiring of our own citizens an obedience to the laws in refraining from rapine toward foreigners, as they are required to do toward each other. Let Spain repose in the consciousness that however desirable to us Cuba must be all that we demand of her is that she shall keep it and not part with it, and rely upon it, in the fullness of time and before very long even, Spain will yield to that inevitable necessity which governs the events of the world.

The geographical position of Cuba, with the increasing growth of this country, will determine all the rest. I have said that in so much of the President's Message as I have read, was contained a narrative only of the fact that he announced. In the concluding sentence of that paragraph the President expresses an opinion. He says: "I have, however, in common with several of my predecessors, directed the Ministers of France and England to be assured that the United States entertained no dangerous designs against Cuba."

In the expression of that opinion I fully agree with the President. We entertain no designs against Cuba. But he continues: "I should regard its incorporation into the Union at the present time as fraught with serious peril." I regret, sir, that the President deemed it necessary to express that, as the opinion of the Executive—nor need I suggest to the Senate upon what that opinion is founded; it speaks for itself—but I am free to declare, as one of the Representatives of the States most deeply concerned, that I know of no peril which should ensue, or which should cause us to hesitate if Cuba were ready for annexation to-morrow.

But let this opinion of the President pass for what it is worth. In the present attitude of the affairs on hand, to discuss it would lead to no practical result: but I could not dismiss it except under protest.

Mr. President, in making these remarks to the Senate upon offering this resolution, I intend to do no more than express my opinion, as an American Senator, upon the relation that exists between this country and Spain in reference to Cuba, and to express further what I hold to be the duty of every department of this Government, and of every American citizen, to recognise Cuba as the property of Spain, and as such to recognise also the muniments with which civilisation protects all property.

Cuba belongs to Spain. It does not belong to us, and none but profane hands can be laid upon it unless through some act of Spain herself. Forbearance on our part would involve the safety of our own people, and I wished further to declare in reference to the proposition made by those two powers of Europe, let it have what meaning it may, that whenever the hour comes, when in good faith, and with due regard to national honour, we can incorporate Cuba as one of these United States, it will be done, and Europe may find it best then to hold her peace.

Mr. Cass spoke as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I have listened with great interest and satisfaction to the remarks which the Senate has just heard from the honourable Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and we may well congratulate ourselves and the country that at this time, when so many difficult and delicate questions of foreign intercourse are upon us, or threatening us, that we have at the head of that important committee a gentleman so well calculated to discharge his duties satisfactorily to the Senate and so honourably to the country, and disposed equally to avoid rashness and pusillanimity. We cannot disguise from ourselves that there never was a period in our history fraught with more momentous subjects connected with our relations with the other powers of the earth, and liable to present themselves from hour to hour for practical consideration. We have heard a great deal about our "manifest destiny," and the term has been equally assailed by reproach and by ridicule. Now, sir, if by that phrase it is meant, as I suppose it is, that the great characteristic features of the age are to produce an influence, a decisive one, upon our course and policy, then, I believe, we have a "manifest destiny" from which we cannot escape, and it is a destiny by which we shall advance in all the elements of knowledge and prosperity, intellectually and materially. As to fixed immobility, we may talk about it as we would about an antediluvian speculation; but while we stop to talk the world of progress is moving on, and we must redouble our pace to overtake it. We cannot isolate ourselves from the other nations of the earth, and we have rights and interests connected with them which demand our constant and often our jealous attention. Mr. Canning said truly and emphatically, "We must keep on the line of political knowledge." When one cheek is struck, in national affairs, if we turn the other we shall soon have neither cheek nor head, nor body, to enable us to repeat the movement. And it was in this spirit I desired last year, when the occasion called for it to repudiate by a solemn public act, an interpolation made in the law of nations by the Emperor of Russia, striking at the very root of national freedom and independence. But it was opposed and defeated; and I see that the President, in his recent annual message, recalls some of the adverse views then presented, and expressed his approbation of them. Sir, I regret this course, because I have a high personal regard for the President, and approve much he has done; but I must be permitted to say that the action proposed by myself and others upon this matter was no more calculated to produce war than the exercise of any other unquestionable national right. I think the charge does injustice to those with whom I acted. We all disclaimed the remotest intention of provoking war, and maintained, both by reason and authority, that the expression of a national opinion, upon a great question of public right, was as much the prerogative of a republic as of a monarchy, and that such a proceeding gave no cause of offence no more than the enunciation of great principles in our Declaration of Independence, but that it put the dissent on record, leaving the Government proclaiming it uncommitted by the declaration, and free to adopt its own course at any time thereafter, I know of no public man, no private one, indeed, who dreamed of accompanying or following the declaration with actual hostilities. But we were frightened, if not out of our property, at least out of our true duty and dignity. The wonderful discovery was made that Washington and Jefferson had warned us of the danger of "entangling alliances," and that this proceeding would be an "entangling alliance," and was therefore to be avoided with patriotic horror. Who were to form an alliance with by declaring a principle of public law, no one has told us; and it is yet a discovery which is to reward some future historian. However, the object was gained. We were humbugged, or we humbugged ourselves. But we shall come to it yet, for this is an age of progress, and I already see that it has told upon this question, for that very respectable body, the Whig Convention of New York, has pronounced its adhesion to the true doctrine in the following resolution, every word of which I heartily approve.

3d. As to the foreign policy: Peace evermore so far as is consistent with the due assertion of our rights, a careful avoidance of all entangling alliances with foreign powers, but a solemn protest against any deliberate defiance of the laws of nations for the furtherance of the interest of despotism, and a generous and active sympathy with, and moral support, to all opposed nations and races struggling to assert or retain their liberties.

And we shall not only come up to this good work of participation in the public law of the world, but we shall also adopt the policy advocated by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Polk, that no European nation shall be permitted to colonise hereafter any part of this Continent. Not to maintain existing Colonies, as the English papers impudently and falsely assert, and as many timid persons in this country made themselves believe, for both of those statesmen, expressly excluded such a pretension, leaving untouched existing rights, but they sought to prevent the subjugation to a colonial state of any of the new Governments, which had assumed and established their independence. But we were also twice frightened out of this measure. We could not get on the line of political knowledge. But rawhead and bloody bones will not be scare-crows for us. "Manifest destiny" is doing its part, and we shall ere long be found warm and efficient supporters of those two great articles of political faith peculiarly ours by position and institutions. The foundation of this claim rests upon peculiar considerations, which are not less just than they are forcible. The law of nations is not a rigid, inflexible code, but it accommodates itself to the varying condition of the world, and history is filled with proofs of this power of adaptation to existing circumstances. This hemisphere, besides its general relation to the older continent, has peculiar interests of its own, which demand its vigilant protection. Settled first with a view to commerce, and then held as a means of power and wealth, the various portions of it were colonised by European powers, and were involved in the wars of Europe, without the slightest interest in their origin or objects. However frivolous the cause of war, whether social or political, or dynastic or personal, it immediately crossed the Atlantic, and extended its ravages to other countries, which ought to have been beyond the sphere of its operations. When we had time to recover from the exhaustion of our Revolutionary efforts, and from the weakness of a new political organization, this subject came up for consideration, and it was obvious that the crisis demanded some powerful action, and that we might always be placed in the midst of belligerent operations, whenever hostilities broke out in Europe. This was a state of things not to be suffered, and as soon, therefore, as the Spanish colonies threw off the yoke of the mother country, and assumed independent positions, it was equally our right and our interest to preserve them from re-subjugation and re-colonisation. Such is the condition of this question; and appearances indicate that we may be called upon ere long to interpose efficaciously in support of the great principle of American exemption. I cannot believe that the French Government is endeavouring to obtain possession of any portion of the Mexican territories: but if such be the object, I trust the effort will be met and resisted by the whole power of our country, and I think the sooner our Government openly avows this determination, in this and all similar cases, the better will it be for our permanent interest and honour. In this connection, sir, I desire to submit a few brief remarks concerning Cuba, as that island presents one of the most difficult questions, perhaps the most difficult, in our foreign policy. Five years ago, in some observations I submitted to the Senate on the subject of the application of the Yucatese people for the aid of this Government against the overwhelming force of the Indians, I had occasion to explain my views in relation to Cuba, and I have since seen no cause to change them. I then said, "Self-defence is as necessary to communities as to individuals;" and a provident forecast requires us to watch any dangereus projects of domination, and to provide for them as we can. I repeat that a nation, under these circumstances, must judge for itself. Proximity of its situation, the nature of the intercourse resulting from its commanding position to be injury, and other considerations, are all elements to be taken into view. In my opinion, we owe it to ourselves to avow distinctly to the world that the attempt to procure the transfer of Cuba from Spain to any other nation, whether peaceably or forcibly, would be resisted by the whole power of this country. To others it may be a question of territorial aggrandisement or of mercantile cupidity; but to us it is a question of necessity. I had almost said, of political life or death. It would become the gate to close the great river of our country. The waters of that country, thereafter as heretofore, would reach the Gulf, but its commerce would never reach the ocean." "So long as Cuba and Yucatan are held by their present possessors, neither we nor the commercial world have anything to fear from English projects, whatever these may be." "I trust that the intrigues of the nation will never compel us to take forcible possession of Cuba." Such were my sentiments then, and such are my sentiments now. So long as Spain retains Cuba, or should the island become independent—truly and honourably so—we have no right to interfere with it. And, for myself, I should be willing—desirous, indeed—at any time to purchase it of Spain, and at a liberal, even at an extravagant price—but no transfer to another power, either by peace or war, and the resistance of such an attempt by all the means which God has given us. And I have never uttered a sentiment, here or elsewhere, inconsistent with these views, though I have often been charged with what is called *filibustering* projects, and that, too, by respectable journals, during the Presidential contest—by *The Republic*, of this city, among others, and quite recently by *The Journal of Commerce*, of New York. No man, editor or reader, has the right to prefer such a charge against me. I believe in public as well as in personal morality, and I value the honour of my country at too high a price to barter it for any scheme of aggrandisement. And I embrace this opportunity to bear my testimony of approbation to the recent conduct of the Administration in relation to Cuba. I reprobate these repeated efforts to interfere in the concerns of another nation, and I have no charity for the motives of the leaders engaged in them. If the people of Cuba desire to free themselves from the Government of Spain—and a worse one is hardly to be found on the face of the earth—their effort will have all my sympathies, and all my good wishes, as I am sure it will have those of the American people. And I cannot doubt but that their independence would be cheerfully recognised by the Government the moment it could properly be done. But this work is their own, and not ours; and so long as they acknowledge allegiance to Spain it is our duty to respect that relation. And, sir, there are circumstances in the condition, both of that country and of ours, which may well demand some forbearance on our part. Spain is weak, and remote from this, almost the last of her immense American possessions. We are powerful and near. And, beside, the condition of the island has been critical and uncertain. There are questions of internal policy there which possess paramount importance, and they are precisely questions which would awaken the vigilance of any people on earth. And Cuba has been in a state of quasi-revolution—the government fearing external collisions as well as internal explosions. And there isn't a nation which wouldn't adopt very strong measures for its security under such circumstances. We should, and persist in them, too, at all hazards. This is precisely a state of things when extreme points of right should not be unnecessarily pushed by a foreign power; and I saw, with regret, that an effort was making to bring matters to a crisis, by insisting upon the introduction of a person supposed by the government of the island—wrongly, inde

Miscellaneous Department.

INTRODUCTION TO UNCLE TOM'S CABIN,

BY THE EARL OF CARLISLE,

For the English Edition.

I HAVE been requested to write a few lines of preface for a reprint of that very remarkable book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin." However flattered I might have felt by such a proposal, under any circumstances, I should probably have declined to comply with it, if it had referred to any other book, or any other subject.

For, first, with regard to the book:

Its merits, in point of composition, and in its avowed character of a work of fiction, though founded upon an actual state of society, and phases of cotemporary events and characters, are sufficiently patent to every class of its nearly unparalleled amount of readers. In this particular alone, its appearance has made a kind of epoch in the literary, as well as. I trust, in the moral history of the time. The mention of the bare reading would, indeed, afford a most inadequate measure of the extraordinary impression which it has made upon the public mind and sympathy. Few are the societies in which it has not, for some time past, formed the staple topic of conversation; and I have had the opportunity of knowing, in startling contrast, of the violent outburst of tears which it has excited in some of the loftiest of our social life, and in the obscure cottages of hard-working and unpolished labourers and miners.

It would be easy, if it were not wholly superfluous, to dilate on the qualities which have produced such a concurrence, and such an intensity of interest and admiration—the gay humour, the tender pathos, the skill, so various, so delicate, so masterly, displayed in the delineations of character—recalling to the readers their foremost favourites, but surely without any degree of servile imitation. In Aunt Chloe, and much of the interior economy of the Shelby household, and especially in the bright, blue-eyed Eva, have we not repeated glimpses of Mr. Charles Dickens! In the tea-table dialogue of the Ohio senator and his wife, and in the self-portraying complaints of Mrs. St. Clare, are we not vividly reminded of our admirable Miss Austen! I think Topsy may challenge the honours of entire originality. But behind and above all these playful graces, or brilliant gifts of the author, like her own Niagara's main torrent behind its silver spray, its emerald crest, its saffron rainbow, rushes and thunders on her mighty moral, the stream of overwhelming, irresistible, eternal truth.

Neither will I be tempted to pause upon a point which I made the subject of respectful remonstrance in a letter which I addressed to the writer in thanking her for the copy of her work she had been good enough to send to me. I refer to what appeared to me a singular want of knowledge, and, therefore, a failure of justice, in speaking of the general condition of our poor in England. To us, who know what the real state of the facts of the case are, this is of comparatively little importance; and as there is much undoubtedly for us to mend, it may not be amiss that we should have matters shown to us under a still darker shadow than legitimately attends them. It is of importance, however, that the proprietors of slaves should not be encouraged to lay the unction to their souls, that the common run of mechanics and labourers of England are on a level of suffering and degradation with the slaves on a rice swamp in Carolina, or at sugar crop time in Louisiana.

This line of argument has been most cogently taken up by a very accomplished friend of mine, Mr. Helps, in a paper which has appeared in *Frazer's Magazine* and I have reason to know that Mrs. Beecher Stowe has expressed herself on the subject with the fairness and candour which might be expected from her. I am convinced that the motive which principally guided her was a wish not to leave out of sight any ground upon which the advocates of Slavery might fairly, or even plausibly, rest; and she states that her own point of view was materially influenced, I must say very naturally, by the representations contained in some of the most popular current literature and oratory of our own country.

As was to be expected, the shout of praise and chorus of approbation with which this work has been received amongst us, general and loud as they have been, and are, have still not been perfectly unanimous. While noble justice has been rendered to it by some of the most enlightened organs of public opinion in the country, I cannot dissemble my regret that in the most powerful of all, a notice of it has appeared, instinct, as I must say it has appeared to me, with all the susceptibility, the sourness, and the jealousy of the slaveholding and Slavery-fostering system itself. My chief consolation is, that it did not appear in the same portion of the paper, and therefore, I am willing to flatter myself, could not have been indicted by the same pens as those articles which, more especially within a recent period, and upon topics connected with the politics of Europe, while they have been models of English composition, have breathed the most generous spirit of English freedom.

The only mode in which detraction ventures to approach Uncle Tom is to set out with admitting the merits of its style and composition, and then to charge it with general exaggeration. I fear, undoubtedly, it is but too true, that human nature will not, under any of its modifications, present us with many types of Uncle Tom; nor I hope, on the other hand, with many of Mr. Legree. But take this human nature, such as we observe in it the world immediately around ourselves, such as we feel it within our bosoms, put it in contact with the recognised codes and published laws of slaveholding States, impregnate it with the habits and maxims of the surrounding society, transfer it, apart from check and observation, to the remote plantation and obscure barracoon, and without resorting to works of fiction, or dreams of the imagination, work out for yourself the inevitable result.

Let me adduce, as among the most cursory and incidental, and apparently trivial of the many illustrations which constantly presented themselves, one which struck upon my ear at the table of an American sailing packet. The captain, on the whole, was not an unfavourable specimen of his country, and his profession; he happened, one day, to be giving to the company some details of his early life. He had been born in one of the Carolinas, and at rather an early age had been sent to school in New England; "and a very disagreeable change I thought it," he went on to say, "after coming from home where I could order the slaves to be flogged whenever I chose." This seemed not to excite the slightest observation among my fellow-passengers at the time.

It is true that when I remarked upon it a little while afterwards to a Southern gentleman, whose frequent European intercourse and gentle nature must have made him sufficiently aware of the effect it was likely to produce upon me, he assured me that I must not consider it as an ordinary specimen; but I want to know, if you bring together wayward children, and weak parents, and irresponsible power, how can it help being an ordinary specimen? And thus I feel that, for illustrating the system of Slavery, I have no need to resort to instances of murder, mutilation, lust and incest, but place before you a child in the nursery, with his parents out of doors and an obsequious attendant at his beck.

Having said thus much about the book, I feel that I have nearly anticipated all that I have to offer in this confined space upon its subject. That subject is Slavery, and it surely constitutes the most difficult and solemn problem that now engages the attention of mankind. I have no wish to dissemble or gloss over my entire and ardent sympathy with its victims and its opponents. The Anti-Slavery party in the United States may possibly have made mistakes and miscalculations which I have no means of correctly appreciating; but, with all due allowance for error, infirmity and the intolerance which is apt to entwine itself even with the noblest of efforts and the holiest of causes, my calm belief is that they are fighting a battle unparalleled either in ancient or modern heroism.

Of modern heroism, I certainly would not speak lightly in addressing either the country of Washington or of Wellington. Let them be rightfully hailed by the respective populations as the Fathers of their Country. But glorious as may have been their exploits in the field, and scarcely less glorious their undeviating deference to the laws and constitutions of the countries they have adorned and saved, I feel almost inclined to question whether, in the estimate of an all-ruling and all-merciful Providence, any cause which even they had ever adopted can outshine in true Christian chivalry the efforts of those who, let the law of the land be for the moment what it may, make it the business of their lives to harbour the fugitive slave from his pursuers, to keep watch over the sanctity of his asylum, and to transfer him from his broken chain to a share of freedom.

Having thus expressed in no faltering accents my sympathy with the enemies of Slavery on its own soil, I do not wish to quit the topic without a word of counsel to my own countrymen, to observe entire justice and discretion towards its friends and abettors. We must never forget that we originally introduced the pestilent system into our colonies, and that we did much to fasten and rivet it upon them when they were indifferent or reluctant. At the same time, it is to be noted, that the onward course of the present century, which has witnessed, in England, the successive abolitions of the slave trade and of Slavery, and in the United States the enactment of the Fugitive Slave law, is daily tending to diminish the appositeness of this plea of complicity. However, again, we must bear in mind that the difficulties with which even we had to contend in achieving this great consummation, and which cost us years of arduous struggle and repeated disappointment, are infinitely multiplied in a country where Slavery is not relegated, as it was with us to distant colonies and separate islands, but is spread over immense portions of their continent, throngs in their markets, jostles in their streets, nestles in their homes, and festers in the very sanctuary of their constitution; so that even the very heartiest detester of Slavery amongst us must feel that, even if he could be invested for a moment with absolute power, he would be utterly at a loss to know what he could in wisdom recommend, or what assured remedy he could prescribe for this pervading and dominating evil.

And above all, even supposing that we had the *right* to reproach, or the sagacity to advise, we should be most careful, on the score of policy, that the manner and tone of our partnership, to use the word in its best sense, does not damage the cause we have most at heart, and actually injure the afflicted race for whom I know there are those amongst us who would willingly lay down their lives. To gag the free and full expression of opinion in this country upon any exhibition of tyranny and unrighteousness, most assuredly I never will consent, in the face either of European despots or American slaveholders; but we may be quite certain that we could not confer more material assistance upon the friends and patrons of American Slavery, than by arraying on their side any feelings of insulted nationality. I have seen the most devoted Abolitionists suddenly fire up, if they thought their country was exposed to undeserved censure or inapplicable contumely.

The Anti-Slavery party in the United States are entitled to the most fervid expression of our sympathy and admiration; the personal intervention of foreigners in their enterprise would, I am persuaded, only clog their efforts, and nullify any which, as a nation, we may ever have a fair and legitimate opportunity to use. Let the only weapon of warfare in this high quarrel be the concurring conscience of mankind; let the only shout of triumph over its adjustment be the hallelujahs of the Heavens.

Nevertheless, while I am anxious to prescribe even to the warmth of sympathy and the ardour of humanity their due bounds and restraints, I think it most desirable, not only that the conscience of the American people should be roused to its inmost depths, but that they should read in the increased stir and sensation which the question excites through all the family of man, the certain indications that it can never sleep, but that it must work and mine its way, till, in one mode or another, its ultimate consummation be accomplished. It is for them to examine the ground, to lay the foundation, to smooth the approaches; happy for them it will be if they may rear the noble edifice of a race's freedom in tranquility and composure, and not amidst scenes of confusion, violence, and bloodshed, such as the gaze of Liberty herself would shrink to encounter. Let them only drink in deep enough the thorough conviction that things cannot go on forever as they are going on now.

Within even the short interval which has elapsed since my own visit to the Union, ten years ago, and, from even this far distance, it appears to me that I can track the footsteps of no slow progress in the career of this great cause. Such seems to me the formal proposal of a candidate by the Anti-Slavery party for the next election to the supreme office of President of the United States; such seems to me the appointment conferred last year by the eminently commercial, eminently American State of Massachusetts, to the office of its Senator in Congress, upon my much valued friend, Mr. Charles Sumner. In our past hours of friendly intercourse, in our frequent walks by the sparkling estuary of Boston, or upon the sunny brow of Bunker's Hill, how little did I, how little did he, I feel well assured, dream of such an opening upon his quiet and unostentatious career! and now, while I have been writing these lines, I have received the speech he has lately delivered in Congress on the bearings of the Fugitive Slave law, which, by the closeness of its logic, and the masculine vigour of its eloquence, proves to me how all the perfections of his mind have grown up to, and been dilated with, the inspiration of the cause which he has now made his own. Indeed, when I rise from reading such a speech as his, or such a book as this, to which I have now ventured to prefix this hurried prelude, I feel constrained at once to temper and to dignify my own sentiments by clothing them with appropriate accents borrowed from our own drama:

> "Reward them for the noble deed, just Heavens!
> For this one action, guard them and distinguish them
> With signal mercies, and with great deliverance;
> Guard them from wrong, adversity, and shame.
> The poor, forsaken ones!
> Shall they be left a prey to savage power?
> Can they lift up their harmless hands in vain,
> Or cry to Heaven for help, and not be heard?
> Go on, pursue! assert the sacred cause;
> Stand forth, ye proxies of all-ruling Providence,
> And save the friendless captives from oppression.
> Saints shall assist ye with prevailing prayers.
> And warring angels combat on your side."

CASTLE HOWARD, Oct. 9th, 1852. CARLISLE.

THE AMOURS OF DEAN SWIFT.

STELLA AND VANESSA.

GREATER men than Dean Swift may have lived. A more remarkable man never left his impress upon the age, immortalised by his genius. To say that English history supplies no narrative more singular and original than the career of Jonathan Swift, is to assert little. We doubt whether the histories of the world can furnish for example and instruction, for wonder and pity, for admiration and scorn, for approval and condemnation, a specimen of humanity at once so illustrious and so small. Before the eyes of his contemporaries, Swift stood a living enigma. To posterity he must continue forever a distressing puzzle. One hypothesis—and one alone—gathered from a close and candid perusal of all that has been transmitted to us from this interesting subject, helps us to account for a whole life of anomaly, but not to clear up the mystery in which it is shrouded. From the beginning to the ending of his days Jonathan Swift was more or less MAD.

Intellectually and morally, physically and religiously, Dean Swift was a mass of contradictions. His career yields ample materials both for the biographer who would pronounce a panegyric over his tomb, and for the censor whose business it is to improve one generation at the expense of another. Look at Swift with the light of intelligence shining on his brow, and you note qualities that might become an angel. Survey him under the dark cloud, and every feature is distorted into that of a fiend. It we tell the reader what he was, in the same breath we shall communicate all that he was not. His virtues were exaggerated into vices, and his vices were not without the savour of virtue. The originality of his writings is of a piece with the singularity of his character. He copied no man who preceded him. He has not been successfully imitated by any who have followed him. The compositions of Swift reveal the brilliancy of sharpened wit, yet it is recorded of the man that he was never known to laugh. His friendships were strong, and his antipathies vehement and unrelenting, yet he illustrated friendship by roundly abusing his familiars, and expressed hatred by bantering his foes. He was economical and saving to a fault, yet he made sacrifices to the indigent and poor sternly denied to himself. He could begrudge the food and wine consumed by a guest, yet throughout his life refuse to derive the smallest pecuniary advantage from his published works, and at his death bequeath the whole of his fortune to a charitable institution. From his youth Swift was a sufferer in body, yet his frame was vigorous, capable of great endurance, and maintained its power and vitality from the time of Charles II. until far on in the reign of the second George. No man hated Ireland more than Swift, yet he was Ireland's first and greatest patriot, bravely standing up for the rights of that kingdom when his chivalry might have cost him his head. He was eager for reward, yet he refused payment with disdain. Impatient of advancement, he preferred to the highest honours the State could confer, the obscurity and ignomy of the political associates with whom he had affectionately laboured until they fell disgraced. None knew better than he the stinging force of a successful lampoon, yet such missiles were hurled by hundreds at his head without in any way disturbing his bodily tranquility. Sincerely religious, scrupulously attentive to the duties of his holy office, vigorously defending the position and privileges of his order, he positively played into the hands of infidelity by the steps he took, both in his conduct and writings, to expose the cant and hypocrisy which he detested as heartily as he admired and practised unaffected piety. To say that Swift lacked tenderness, would be to forget many passages of his unaccountable industry that overflow with "gentleness of spirit and mild humanity; but to deny that he exhibited inexcusable brutality where the softness of his nature ought chiefly to have been evoked—where the want of tenderness, indeed, left him a naked and irreclaimable savage—is equally impossible. If we decline to pursue the contradictory series farther, it is in pity to the reader, not for want of materials at command. There is, in truth, no end to such materials.

Swift was born in the year 1667. His father, who was steward to the Society of the King's Inn, Dublin, died before his birth and left his widow penniless. The child, named Jonathan, after his father, was brought up on charity. The obligation due to an uncle was one that Swift would never forget, or remember without inexcusable indignation. Because he had not been left to starve by his relatives, or because his uncle would not do more than he could, Swift conceived an eternal dislike to all who bore his name, and a haughty contempt for all who partook of his nature. He struggled into active life, and presented himself to his fellow men in the temper of a foe. At the age of fourteen, he was admitted into Trinity College, Dublin, and four years afterwards, *as a special grace*—for his acquisitions apparently failed to earn the distinction—the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred upon him. In 1682, the year in which the war broke out in Ireland, Swift, in his twenty-first year, and without a sixpence in his pocket, left college. Fortunately for him, the wife of Sir William Temple was related to his mother, and upon her application to that statesman the friendless youth was provided with a home. He took up his abode with Sir William in England, and for the space of two years laboured hard at his own improvement, and at the amusement of his patron. How far Swift succeeded in winning the good opinion of Sir William may be learnt from the fact that when King William honoured Moor Park with his presence, he was permitted to take part in the interviews, and that when Sir William was unable to visit the King, his *protege* was commissioned to wait upon his Majesty, and to speak on the patron's authority and behalf. The lad's future promised better things than his beginning. He resolved to go into the church, since preferment stared him in the face. In 1692 he proceeded to Oxford, where he obtained his Master's degree, and in 1694, quarreling with Sir William Temple, who coldly offered him a situation worth £100 a year, he quitted his patron in disgust, and went at once to Ireland to take holy orders. He was ordained, and almost immediately afterwards received the living of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor, the value of the living being about equal to that of the appointment offered by Sir William Temple.

Swift, miserable in his exile, sighed for the advantages he has abandoned. Sir William Temple, lonely without his clever and keen-witted companion, pined for his return. The prebend of Kilroot was speedily resigned in favour of a poor curate, for whom Swift had taken great pains to procure the presentation; and with £20 in his purse, the independent clergyman proceeded once more to Moor Park. Sir William received him with open arms. They resided together until 1699, when the great statesman died, leaving to Swift, in testimony of his regard, the sum of £100 and his literary remains. The remains were duly published and dedicated to the King. They might have been inscribed to his Majesty's cook, for any advantage that accrued to the editor. Swift was a Whig, but his politics suffered severely by the neglect of his Majesty, who derived no particular advantage from Sir William Temple's "remains."

Weary with long and vain attendance upon Court, Swift finally accepted at the hands of Lord Berkely, one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, the rectory of Agher and the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan, in the year 1700 he took possession of the living at Laracor, and his mode of entering upon his duty was thoroughly characteristic of the man. He walked down to Laracor, entered the curate's house, and announced himself as "his master." In his usual style, he affected brutality, and having sufficiently alarmed his victims, gradually soothed and consoled them by evidences of undoubted friendliness and good will. "This," says Sir Walter Scott, "was the ruling trait of Swift's character to others; his praise assumed the appearance and language of complaint; his benefits were often prefaced by a prologue of a threatening nature." "The ruling trait" of Swift's character was morbid eccentricity. Much less eccentricity has saved many a murderer in our days from the gallows. We approach a period of Swift's history when we must accept this conclusion, or revolt from the cold-blooded doings of a monster.

During Swift's second residence with Sir William Temple, he had become acquainted with an inmate of Moor Park, very different to the accomplished man to whose intellectual pleasures he so largely ministered. A young and lovely girl—half ward, half dependent in the establishment—engaged the attention and commanded the untiring services of the newly made minister. Esther Johnson had need of education, and Swift became her tutor. He entered upon his task with avidity, condescended to the humblest instruction, and inspired his pupil with unbounded gratitude and regard. Swift was not more insensible to the simplicity of the lady than she to the kind offices of her mager; but Swift would not have been Swift had he, like other men, returned everyday love with ordinary affection. Swift had felt tender impressions in his own fashion before. Once in Leicestershire he was accused by a friend of having formed an imprudent attachment, on which occasion he returned for answer, that "his cold temper and unconfined humour" would prevent all serious consequences, even if it were not true that the conduct which his friend had taken for gallantry had been merely the evidence "of an active and restless temper, incapable of enduring idleness, and catching at such opportunities of amusement as most readily occurred." Upon another occasion, and within four years of the Leicestershire pastime, Swift made an absolute offer of his hand to one Miss Waryng, vowing in his declaratory epistle, that he would forego every prospect of interest for the sake of his "Varina," and that "the lady's love was far more fatal than her cruelty." After much and long consideration, Varina consented to the suit. That was enough for Swift. He met the capitulation by charging his Varina with want of affection, by stipulating for unheard-of sacrifices, and concluding, with an expression of his willingness to wed, "*though she had neither fortune nor beauty*," provided every article of his letter was ungrudgingly agreed to. We may well tremble for Esther Johnson, with her young heart given into such wild keeping.

As soon as Swift was established at Laracor, it was arranged that Esther, who possessed a small property in Ireland, should take up her abode near to her old preceptor. She came, and scandal was silenced by a stipulation insisted on by Swift, that his lovely charge should have a matron for a constant companion, and never see him except in the presence of a third party. Esther was in her seventeenth year. The vicar of Laracor was on his road to forty. What wonder that even in Laracor the former should receive the offer of marriage, and that the latter, wayward and inconsistent from first to last, should deny another the happiness he had resolved never to enjoy himself? Esther found a lover whom Swift repulsed, to the infinite joy of the devoted girl, whose fate was already linked for good or evil to that of her teacher and friend.

Obscurity and idleness were not for Swift. Love, that gradually consumed the unoccupied girl, was not even this man's recreation. Impatient of banishment, he went to London, and mixed with the wits of the age. Addison, Steele and Arbuthnot, became his friends, and he quickly proved himself worthy of their intimacy by the publication, in 1704, of his *Tale of a Tub*. The success of the work, given to the world anonymously, was decisive. Its singular merit obtained for its author everlasting renown, and effectually prevented his rising to the highest dignity in the very church which his book laboured to exalt. None but an inspired madman would have attempted to do honour to religion in a spirit which none but the infidel could heartily approve.

Politicians are not squeamish. The Whigs could see no fault in raillery and wit that might serve temporal interests with greater advantage than they had advanced interests ecclesiastical; and the friends of the Revolution welcomed so rare an adherent to their principles. With an affected ardour that subsequent events proved to be as premature as it was hollow, Swift's pen was in harness for his allies, and worked vigorously enough until 1709, when, having assisted Steele in the establishment of the *Tattler*, the Vicar of Laracor returning to Ireland and to the duties of a rural pastor. Not to remain, however. A change suddenly came over the spirit of the nation. Sacheverell was about to pull down by a single sermon all the popularity that Marlborough and his friends had built up by their glorious campaigns. Swift had waited in vain for promotion from the Whigs, and his suspicions were aroused when the Lord Lieutenant unexpectedly began to caress him. Escaping the damage which the marked attentions of the old Government might do him with the new, Swift started for England in 1710, in order to survey the turning of the political wheel with his own eyes, and to try his fortunes in the game. The progress of events was rapid. Swift reached London on the 9th of September; on the 1st of October he had already written a lampoon upon an ancient associate; and on the 4th he was presented to Harley, the new Minister.

The career of Swift from this moment, and so long as the Government of Harley lasted, was magnificent and mighty. Had he not been crotchetty from his very boyhood, his head would have been turned now. Swift reigned. Swift was the Government. Swift was Queen, Lords and Commons. There was tremendous work to do, and Swift did it all. The Tories had thrown out the Whigs, and had brought in a Government in their place quite as Whiggish, to do Tory work. To moderate the wishes of the people, if not blind their eyes, was the preliminary and essential work of the Ministry. They could not perform it themselves. Swift undertook and accomplished it. He had intellect and courage enough for that, and more. Moreover, he had vehement passions to gratify, and they might all partake of the glory of his success; he was proud, and his pride reveled in authority; he was ambitious, and his ambition could attain no higher pitch than it found at the right hand of the Prime Minister; he was revengeful, and revenge could wish no sweeter gratification than the contortions of the great who had neglected genius and desert when they looked to them for advancement, and obtained nothing but cold neglect. Swift, single-handed, fought the Whigs. For seven months he conducted a periodical paper in which he mercilessly assailed, as none but himself could attack, all who were odious to the Government, and distasteful to himself; not an individual was spared whose sufferings could add to the tranquility and permanence of the Government. Resistance was in vain; it was attempted, but invariably with one effect—the first wound grazed, the second killed.

The public were in ecstacies. The laughers were all on the side of the satirist, and how vast a portion of the community these are, needs not be said. But it was not in the *Examiner* alone that Swift offered up his victims at the shrine of universal mirth. He could write verses for the rough heart of a nation to chuckle over and delight in. Personalities to-day fly wide of the mark; then they went right home. The habits, the foibles, the moral and physical imperfections of humanity, were all fair game, provided the shaft were dipped with gall as well as venom. Short poems, longer pamphlets—whatever could help the Government and cover their foes with ridicule and scorn, Swift poured upon the town, with an industry and skill that set eulogy at defiance. And because they did defy praise, Jonathan Swift never asked and was never too grand to accept it.

But he claimed much more. His disordered yet exquisite intellect acknowledged no superiority. He asked no thanks for his labour; he disdained pecuniary reward for his matchless and incalculable services; he did not care for fame; but he imperiously demanded to be treated by the greatest as an equal. Mr. Harley offered him money, and he quarreled with the Minister for his boldness. "If we let these great Ministers," he said, "pretend too much, *there will be no governing them*." The same Minister desired to make Swift his chaplain. One mistake was as great as the other. "My Lord Oxford, by a second hand, proposed my being his chaplain, which I, by a second hand, refused. I will be no man's chaplain alive." The assumption of the man was more than regal. At a later period of his life he drew up a list of his friends, ranking them respectively under the heads, "Ungrateful," "Grateful," "Indifferent," and "Doubtful." Pope appears among the grateful; Queen Caroline among the ungrateful. The audacity of those distinctions is very edifying. What autocrat is here, for whose mere countenance the whole world is to bow down and be "grateful."

It is due to Swift's imperiousness, however, to state that, once acknowledged as an equal, he was prepared to make every sacrifice that could be looked for in a friend. Concede his position, and for fortune or disgrace he was equally prepared. Harley and Bolingbroke, quick to discern the weakness, called their invulnerable ally by his Christian name, but stopped short of conferring upon him any benefit whatever. The neglect made no difference to the haughty scribe, who contented himself with pulling down the barriers that had been impertinently set up to separate him from rank and worldly greatness. But, if Swift shrank from the treatment of a client, he performed no part so willingly as that of a patron. He took literature under his wing, and compelled the Government to do it homage. He quarreled with Steele when he deserted the Whigs, and pursued his former friend with unflinching sarcasm and banter; but, at his request, Steele was maintained by the Government in an office of which he was about to be deprived. Congreve was a Whig, but Swift insisted that he should find honour at the hands of the Tories, and Harley honoured him accordingly. Swift introduced Gay to Lord Bolingbroke, and secured that nobleman's weighty patronage for the poet. Rowe was recommended for office, Pope for aid. The well-to-do, by Swift's personal interest, found respect, the indigent money, for the mitigation of their pains. At Court, at Swift's instigation, the Lord Treasurer made the first advances to men of letters, and, by the act, made tacit confession of the power which Swift so liberally exercised for the advantage of everybody but himself. But what worldly distinction, in truth could add to the importance of a personage who made it a point for a Duke to pay him the first visit, and who, on one occasion, publicly sent the Prime Minister into the House of Commons to call out the First Secretary of State, whom Swift wished to inform that he would not dice with him if he meant to dine late.

A lampoon directed against the Queen's favourite, upon whose red hair Swift had been facetious, prevented the satirist's advancement in England. The see of Hereford fell vacant in 1712. Bolingbroke would now have paid the debt due from his Government to Swift, but the Duchess of Somerset, upon her knees, implored the Queen to withhold her consent from the appointment, and Swift was pronounced by Her Majesty as "too violent in party" for promotion. The most important man in the kingdom found himself in a moment the most feeble. The fountain of so much honour could not retain a drop of the precious waters for itself. Swift, it is said, laid the foundations of fortune for upwards of forty families who rose to distinction by a word from his lips. What a satire upon power was the satirist's own fate! He could not advance himself in England one inch. Promotion in Ireland began and ended with his appointment to the Deanery of St. Patrick, of which he took possession, much to his disgust and vexation, in the Summer of 1713.

The Summer, however, was not over before Swift was in England again. The wheels of Government had come to a dead lock, and of course none but he could right them. The Ministry was at sixes and sevens. Its very existence depended upon the good understanding of the chiefs. Bolingbroke and Harley, and the wily ambition of the latter, jarring against the vehement desires of the former, had produced jealousy, suspicion, and now threatened immediate disorganization. A thousand voices called the Dean to the scene of action, and he came full of the importance of his mission. He plunged at once into the vexed sea of political controversy, and whilst straining every effort to court his friends, let no opportunity slip of galling their foes. His pen was as damaging and industrious as ever. It set the town in a fever. It caused Richard Steele to be expelled from the House of Commons, and it sent the whole body of Scotch peers, headed by the Duke of Argyll, to the Queen, with the prayer that a proclamation might be issued for the discovery of their libeller. Swift was more successful in his assaults than in his mediation. The Ministers were irreconcilable. Vexed at heart with disappointment, the Dean, after his manner, suddenly quitted London, and shut himself up in Berkshire. One attempt he made in his strict seclusion to uphold the Government and save the country, and the composition is a curiosity in its way. He published a proposition for the exclusion of all dissenters from power of every kind, for disqualifying Whigs and Low Churchmen for every possible office, and for compelling the presumptive heir to the throne to declare his abomination of Whigs, and his perfect satisfaction with Her Majesty's present advisers. Matters must have been near a crisis when this modest pamphlet was put forth, and so they were. The intrigues of Bolingbroke had triumphed over those of his colleague, and Oxford was disgraced. The latter about to retire into obscurity, addressed a letter to Swift, entreating him, if he were not tired of his former prosperous friend, "to throw away so much time on one who loved him as to attend him upon his melancholy journey." The same post brought him word that his own victory was won. Bolingbroke triumphant besought his Jonathan, as he loved his Queen, to stand by her Minister, and to aid him in his perilous adventure. Nothing should be wanting to do justice to his loyalty. The Duchess of Somerset would be reconciled, the Queen would be gracious, the path of honour should lie broad, open, and unimpeded before him. Bolingbroke and Harley were equally the friends of Swift. What could he do in his extremity? What would a million men, taken at random from the multitude, have done, had they been so situated, so tempted? Not that upon which Swift, in his chivalrous magnanimity, at once decided. He abandoned the prosperous to follow and console the unfortunate. "I meddle not with Lord Oxford's faults," is his noble language, "as he was a Minister of State, but his personal kindness to me was excessive. He distinguished and chose me above all men when he was great." Within a few days of Swift's self-denying decision Queen Anne was a corpse, Bolingbroke and Oxford both flying for their lives, and Swift himself hiding his unprotected head in Ireland, amidst a people who at once feared and hated him.

During Swift's visit to London in 1710, he had regularly transmitted to Stella, by which name Esther Johnson is made known to posterity, an account of his daily doings with the new Government. The journal exhibits the view of the writer that his conduct invariably presents. It is full of tenderness and confidence, and not without coarseness that startles and shocks. It contains a detailed minute account, not only of all that passed between Swift and the Government, but of his changeful feelings as they arose from day to day, and of physical infirmities that are commonly whispered in the ear of the physician. If Swift loved Stella in the ordinary acceptation of the term, he took small pains in his diary to elevate the sentiments with which she regarded him here. The journal is not in harmony throughout. Towards the close it lacks the tenderness and warmth, the minuteness and confidential utterance that are so visible at the beginning. We are enabled to account for the difference. Swift had enlarged the circle of his female acquaintance whilst fighting for his friends in London. He had become a constant visitor, especially at the house of a Mrs. Vanhomrigh, who had two daughters, the eldest of whom was about twenty years of age, and had the same Christian name as Stella. Esther Vanhomrigh had great taste for reading, and Swift, who seems to have delighted in such occupation, condescended, for the second time in his life, to become a young ladies instructor. The great man's tuition had always one effect upon his pupils. Before Miss Vanhomrigh had made much progress in her studies she was over head and ears in love, and, to the astonishment of her master, she one day declared the passionate and undying character of her attachment. Swift met the confession with a weapon far more potent when opposed to a political foe than when directed against the weak heart of a doting woman. He had recourse to raillery, but finding his banter of no avail, endeavored to appease the unhappy girl by "an offer of devoted and everlasting friendship, founded on the basis of a virtuous esteem." He might with equal success have attempted to put out a conflagration with a bucket of cold water. There was no help for the miserable man. He returned to his deanery at the death of Queen Anne, with two love affairs upon his hands, but with the stern resolution of encouraging neither, and overcoming both.

Before quitting England he wrote to Esther Vanhomrigh, or Vanessa, as he styles her in his correspondence, intimating his intention to forget everything in England, and to write to her as seldom as possible. So far the claims of Vanessa were disposed of. As soon as he reached his deanery, he secured lodgings for Stella and her companion, and reiterated his determination to pursue his intercourse with the young lady upon the prudent terms originally established. So far his mind was set at rest in respect of Stella. But Swift had scarcely time to congratulate himself upon his plans before Vanessa presented herself in Dublin, and made known to the Dean her resolution to take up her abode permanently in Ireland. Her mother was dead, so were her two brothers; she and her sister were alone in the world, and they had a small property near Dublin, to which it suited them to retire. Swift, alarmed by the proceeding, remonstrated, threatened, denounced—all in vain. Vanessa met his reproaches with complaints of cruelty and neglect, and warned him of the consequences of leaving her without the solace of his friendship and presence. Perplexed and distressed, the Dean had no other resource than to leave events to their own development. He trusted that time would mitigate and show the hopelessness of Vanessa's passion, and in the meanwhile he sought, by occasional communication with her, to prevent any catastrophe that might result from actual despair. But his thoughts for Vanessa's safety were inimical to Stella's repose. She pined and gradually sank under the alteration that had taken place in Swift's deportment towards her since his acquaintance with Vanessa. Swift, really anxious for the safety of his ward, requested a friend to ascertain the cause of her malady. It was not difficult to ascertain it. His indifference and public scandal, which spoke freely of their unaccountable connection, were alone to blame for her sufferings. It was enough for Swift. He had passed the age at which he had resolved to marry, but he was ready to wed Stella provided the marriage were kept a secret and she was content to live apart. Poor Stella was more than content, but she over-estimated her strength. The marriage took place, and immediately afterwards the husband withdrew himself in a fit of madness, which threw him into gloom and misery for days. What the motives may have been for the inexplicable stipulations of this wayward man, it is impossible to ascertain. That they were the motives of a diseased, and at times utterly irresponsible, judgment, we think cannot be questioned. Of love, as a tender passion, Swift had no conception. His writings prove it. The coarseness that pervades his compositions has nothing in common with the susceptibility that shrinks from disgusting and loathsome images in which Swift revelled. In all his prose and poetical addresses to his mistresses, there is not one expression to prove the weakness of his heart. He writes as a guardian—he writes as a friend—he writes as a father, but not a sylable escapes him that can be attributed to the pangs and delights of the lover.

Married to Stella, Swift proved himself more eager than ever to give his intercourse with Vanessa the character of mere friendship. He went so far as to endeavor to engage her affectations for another man, but his attempts were rejected with indignation and scorn. In the August of the year 1717, Vanessa retired from Dublin to her house and property near Celbridge. Swift exhorted her to leave Ireland altogether, but she was not be persuaded. in 1720, it would appear that the Dean frequently visited the recluse in her retirement, and upon such occasions Vanessa would plant a laurel or two in honour of her guest, who passed his time with the lady reading and writing verses in a rural bower built in a sequestered part of her garden. Some of the verses composed by Vanessa have been preserved. They breathe the fond ardour of the suffering maid, and testify to the imperturable coldness of the man. Of the innocence of their intercourse there cannot be a doubt. In 1720, Vanessa lost her last remaining relative—her sister died in her arms. Thrown back upon herself by this bereavement, the intensity of her love for the Dean became insupportable. Jealous and suspicious, and eager to put an end to a terror that possessed her, she resolved to address herself to Stella, and to ascertain from her own lips the exact nature of her relation with her so-called guardian. The momentous question was asked in a letter, to which Stella calmly replied by informing her interrogator that she was the Dean's wife. Vanessa's letter was forwarded by stella to Swift himself, and it roused him to fury. He rode off at once to Cellbridge, entered the apartment in which Vanessa was seated, and glared upon her like a tiger. The trembling creature asked her visitor to sit down. He answered the invitation by flinging a packet on the table, and riding instantly away. The packet was opened; it contained nothing but Vanessa's letter to Stella. Her doom was pronounced. The fond heart snapped. In a few weeks the hopeless, desolate Vanessa was in her grave.

Swift, agonized, rushed from the world. For two months subsequently to the death of Vanessa his place of abode was unknown. But at the end of that period he returned to Dublin calmer for the conflict he had undergone. He devoted himself industriously again to affairs of State. His pen had now a nobler office than to sustain unworthy men in unmerited power. We can but indicate the course of his labours. Ireland, the country not of his love, but of his birth and adoption, treated as a conquered province, owed her rescue from absolute thraldom to Swift's great and unconquerable exertions on her behalf. He resisted the English Government with his single hand, and overcame them in the fight. His popularity in Ireland was unparalleled, even in that excited and generous-hearted land. Rewards were offered to betray him, but a million lives would have been sacrificed in his place before one would have profited by the patriot's downfall. He was worshipped, and every hair of his head was precious and sacred to the people who adored him.

In 1726, Swift revisited England, for the first time since the death of Queen Anne, and published, anonymously as usual, the famous satire of *Gulliver's Travels*. Its immediate success heralded the universal fame that masterly and singular work has since achieved. Swift mingled once more with his literary friends, and lived almost entirely with Pope. Yet courted on all sides he was doomed again to bitter sorrow. News reached him that Stella was ill. Alarmed and full of self reproaches he hastened home to be received by the people of Ireland in triumph, and to meet—and he was grateful for the sight—the improved and welcoming looks of the woman for whose dissolution he had been prepared. In March, 1728, Stella, being sufficiently recovered, the Dean ventured once more to England but was to be resummoned to the hapless couch of his exhausted and most miserable wife. Afflicted in body and soul, Swift suddenly quitted Pope, with whom he was residing at Twickenham, and reaching his home was doomed to find his Stella upon the verge of the grave. Till the last moment he continued at her bedside, evincing the tenderest consideration and performing what consolatory tasks he might in the sick chamber. Shortly before her death part of a conversation between the melancholy pair was overheard. "Well, my dear," said the Dean, "if you wish it, it shall be owned." Stella's reply was given in a few words. "*It is too late.*" "On the 28th of January," writes one of the biographers of Swift, "Mrs. Johnson closed her weary pilgrimage, and passed to that land where they neither marry nor are given in marriage," the second victim of one and the same hopeless and consuming passion.

Swift stood alone in the world, and for his punishment was doomed to endure the crushing solitude for the space of seventeen years. The interval was gloomy indeed. From his youth the Dean had been subject to painful fits of giddiness and deafness. From 1736, these fits became more frequent and severe. In 1740, he went raving mad, and frenzy ceased only to leave him a more pitiable idiot. During the space of three years the poor creature was unconscious of what passed around him, and spoke but twice. Upon the 19th of October, 1735, God mercifully removed the terrible spectacle from the sight of man, and released